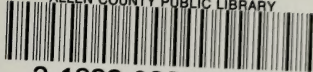


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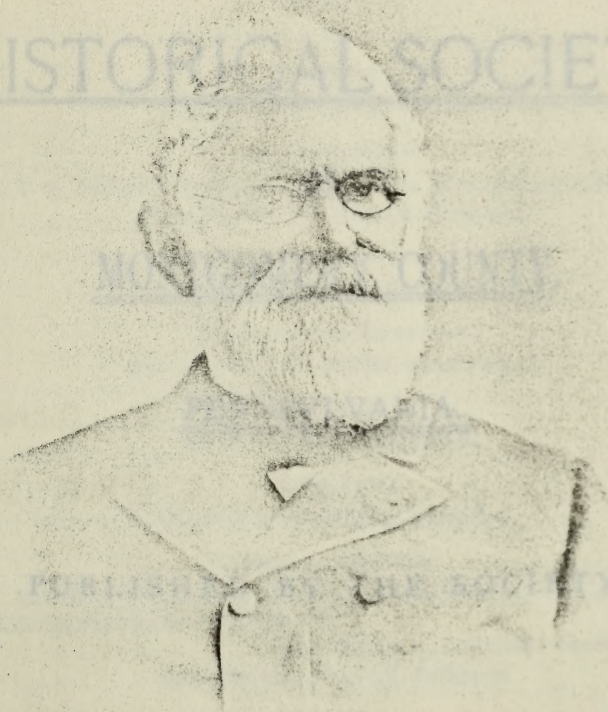
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HISTORICAL SKETCHES

A COLLECTION OF PAPERS PREPARED
FOR THE

HISTORICAL SOCIETY



PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

VOLUME II

1900

The F. G. Co.

DR. HIRAM CORSON.

WORLD PRINTING AND BINDING, BOSTON.

1900.

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PENNSYLVANIA.

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NORRISTOWN, PA. :

HERALD PRINTING AND BINDING ROOMS.

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OF

MONTGOMERY COUNTY

THE PUBLIC RECORDS

OF THE MOUNTAIN STATE

PENNSYLVANIA

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

VOLUME II.

1766

HARRISBURG, PA.:
HEROLD, BRIDGES, AND BROTHERS, PRINTERS.
1866.

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OF THE

Historical Society of Montgomery County, Pa.

1900.

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LIST OF MEMBERS

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INTRODUCTORY.

ix

In 1895 the Historical Society of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, ventured the experiment of publishing a volume of local historical papers and sketches. It then stated it hoped to continue the publication of similar papers, afterwards prepared for it. The cordial reception given that book encourages the Society to issue a second volume.

This volume, like the preceding one, comprises papers on local historical topics, mostly written for the Society and read at its meetings. These papers are the result of careful investigation and labor, and are well worthy of preservation. Each author has endeavored to be accurate and has carefully prepared his paper, stating the facts as derived from the best sources available to him. Although mis-statements and errors may have inadvertently been made in some papers, they are few in number and mostly of minor importance. These papers were written for the information and entertainment of the members of the Society. It is hoped they will interest the general public also.

The Historical Society of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, was organized in 1881. Three years later it obtained its charter of incorporation, which states that the object of the Society is the study and preservation of the history of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. The work of the Society has been conducted strictly within these lines. With this view it brought about, in 1884, the celebration of the centennial of the

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establishment of Montgomery County. The public demonstration on that occasion lasted four days and was a success in every way. A full account of the celebration is contained in the volume issued at that time under the auspices of the Society. That celebration was also made a financial success. After paying all expenses, a balance of \$1200 remained which was invested for the Society's benefit. This fund has since been used in part payment for Historical Hall, now owned by this Society.

Ever since its establishment the Society has maintained its organization, and has steadily conducted its work. It has held a number of meetings, both at Norristown and throughout the county. It has had a number of papers prepared and read at these meetings, being sketches of prominent residents of the county who have passed away, or accounts of various historical events that have occurred here. In this it aims not only to publish record history, and to bring into prominence facts and matters of detail that have been so far overlooked, but it also attempts to collect and preserve neighborhood tradition. The intention of the Society is to issue these papers in book form. A number of them make up this volume.

The Society proposes marking important historical places within the county limits with permanent monuments. Recently it erected at Barren Hill a monument indicating the location of Lafayette's camp there in May, 1778. It also erected near the Perkiomen Creek, opposite Schwenksville, a monument commemorating Washington's encampment there, at Pennypacker's Mills, in 1777. Both these memorials are described in this volume.

The Society is collecting a library of volumes relating to local history. This library comprises principally local sketches, histories of townships, churches, schools and societies located within the county; biographies of prominent resi-

dents, school catalogues, lists of members of local societies and organizations, genealogies of families any of whom have ever lived in this county; old directories, historical documents and letters, and old volumes owned by residents of the county. The Society gladly receives donations of such. It already has a creditable collection which is being arranged and systematically catalogued. It has also received donations of historical relics which it hopes in time to display in an interesting historical museum.

The aim of the Society being educational, it has endeavored to enlist the interest of the schools. To that end it is making an effort to have permanently established one specific day to be celebrated yearly by all the schools of Montgomery County, and to be called Local History Day. It suggests that at some period during that day, at the discretion of the teacher of each school, instruction in local history shall be given, suited to the locality of the school and to the ability of the pupils. This proposition has been brought before the Montgomery County Teachers' Institute and favorably received. The School Directors' Association of Montgomery County have designated the nineteenth of December of each year as Local History Day in the public schools of the county.

Since publishing its preceding volume the Historical Society has made great progress. It then had sixty members. It now has over three hundred members. A list of its members appears in this volume. The Society gladly welcomes to its membership all who feel an interest in its objects. Local pride in the Society is being aroused, and there is, throughout the community, a disposition to encourage those who are active in its work. While the Society is glad to have its members take an active part, yet it does not require any one to do so. The duties of a member are no more onerous than the member cares to make them. Those who desire to do it, pre-

pare historical papers to be read at its meetings. Other members aid in various ways—in securing contributions and donations, or assisting in the entertainments and suppers. Some who cannot take an active part, but are willing to encourage the Society, simply maintain their membership and pay their dues, and attend the Society's meetings when they can. Members are elected at all meetings of the Society. The initiation fee is \$1, which must accompany the proposition of each member. The dues are fifty cents a year. The cost of a life membership is \$25. Since its organization the Society has elected sixteen life members.

The meetings of the Society are usually held in its hall at Norristown. The annual meetings occur on February 22nd. Regular meetings are held on the last Wednesday of May and October of each year, and adjourned and special meetings are frequently held.

It has been found that the Society is much benefited by occasional meetings at historic spots within the county. Interest is aroused, new members are obtained, and historic data collected. Such meetings have been held yearly, in the late summer or early autumn, and have been largely attended. A joint meeting of the Historical Societies of Bucks, Chester and Montgomery counties was held at Hathboro in July, 1894. Since then this Society has met twice at Barren Hill, and once each at Schwenksville, Fort Washington, Collegeville and Mainland.

A large public meeting of the Society was held in the Court House at Norristown, March 29, 1895, when a valuable historical address was delivered by Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker to an appreciative audience.

Prior to 1897, the meetings of the Society at Norristown were mostly held in the Court House. The County Commissioners had granted the Society the exclusive use of a small

room in that building, and permitted it to meet in one of the court rooms. But the growth of the Society demanded that it own a meeting-place, which should include an audience room and library rooms with space for future expansion.

In 1896, the former Borough Hall of Norristown, with the lot belonging thereto on Penn street, was offered for sale, the authorities having erected a more commodious municipal building at DeKalb and Airy streets. The Historical Society decided to buy this property. Its deed therefor bears date December 22, 1896, when it obtained possession of the property. The consideration was \$5500. The \$1200 remaining from the County Centennial celebration, and \$300 of accumulations and life-membership fees, enabled the Society to raise \$1500, and it borrowed the balance of the purchase money and gave a mortgage for \$4000 on its new building.

The building was erected in 1884. It is a large, substantial two-story brick structure, situate on Penn street adjoining the public square and opposite the Court House. When bought, it was found that the building needed considerable repairs, and material alterations were required to fit it for the needs of the Society. These were made at a cost of about \$1000. The property is now admirably adapted to the Society's uses.

The Society calls its newly acquired property "Historical Hall." Its first meeting was held there on May 26, 1897. It occupies all of the second story and part of the first story of the building. It rents part of the building for offices from which it derives some revenue. The portion used by the Society consists of a commodious and comfortable meeting hall and rooms for its library on the second floor, and a large permanent fire-proof vault on the first floor. It hopes in the future to have also a historical museum there.

The Society is much indebted to the ladies whose labors secured the money that has established it in its present favorable condition. Three suppers were given by them in conjunction with a historical loan exhibition and historical and dramatic entertainments. These yielded the Society altogether nearly \$1400. Part of this money was devoted towards paying for the alterations and repairs to the building, and \$500 was used to cut down the mortgage. The amount of the mortgage is \$3500, at five per cent. interest.

When the previous volume was issued Hon. Hiram C. Hoover was President of the Society, having held that office since February 22, 1890. In 1896 Judge Hoover declined a re-election and urged as his successor Joseph Fornance, who was then elected President and still holds the position. Judge Hoover maintains an active interest in the Society and is seldom absent from its meetings.

Since the issue of its previous volume the Society has lost by death some of its most valued members. Two life members have passed away: Francis M. Brooke, who made many donations and aided with words of encouragement, and William McDermott, who, besides being an active worker and contributor, was for a long time Treasurer.

Of those who were active in the work and have passed away are Dr. Hiram Corson, Dr. A. D. Markley, Isaac Chism, Francis Whiting, Levi Streeper, Maj. William H. Holstein, Daniel K. Cassel, William G. Smith, Jacob R. Steinmetz, and others.

The Society returns its thanks to the community for aid and encouragement. It expects to continue its work and to publish in the future additional volumes. It hopes that when the next volume is issued, its property will be free from debt.

and it feels sure that the permanent results achieved by it will be worthy of the aid it receives.

JOSEPH FORNANCE,
ELLWOOD ROBERTS,
WILLIAM H. RICHARDSON,
Committee on Publication.

Norristown, Pa., January 1, 1900.

THE
ABOLITIONISTS OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY /
AND THE WORK DONE BY THEM

IN FAVOR OF GIVING FREEDOM TO THE SLAVES OF THE
SOUTHERN STATES.

BY HIRAM CORSON, M. D.

In the summer of 1894, several members of the Historical Society of Montgomery County suggested to me the name George H. Keller, on page 65, should be George K. Heller. The name of Rev. Joseph H. Hendricks, D. D., Collegeville, should have been included in the list of members, pages 374-382.

years' war against slavery. During the years from 1830 to go no further back—to 1860-61. They appealed to me, the only living actor in that great drama from its inception in our country, to undertake the work. I was then just passing from the 90th to the 91st year of my life—a task now accomplished—and was afraid I could not do the work, but I finally consented; and I ask you, in view of the infirmities of old age, for your mildest criticism of it.

Even before the year 1825, when I was 21 years of age, the subject of slavery and the horrors of the middle passage, as depicted by English philanthropists, when negroes were brought from Africa in sailing vessels, sometimes so crowded that they were laid side by side on shelves, like logs of wood, and suffering horribly, had awakened in many of our people a desire to ameliorate the condition of Southern slaves and to abolish, if possible, the slave trade. We had read the writings of Thomas Fowell Buxton, Wm. Wilberforce, and Granville Sharp, and were anxiously watching the movements of philan-

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY.

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BY HIRAM CORSON, M. D.

In the summer of 1894, several members of the Historical Society of Montgomery county suggested to me the propriety and importance of having a written account of the work done by Abolitionists in this county, during the thirty years' war against slavery; i. e., during the years from 1830—to go no further back—to 1860-61.

They appealed to me, the only living actor in that great drama from its inception in our county, to undertake the work. I was then just passing from the 90th to the 91st year of my life—a fact now accomplished—and was afraid I could not do the work, but I finally consented; and I ask you, in view of the infirmities of old age, for your mildest criticism of it.

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thropists and our people in power, to learn what measures would be advocated by them to get rid of slavery in our Southern states and to arrest the slave trade. As early as 1828, Samuel Maulsby, residing near to Plymouth Meeting of Friends, and Alan W. Corson, in the vicinity of Norristown, were subscribers to an anti-slavery paper entitled the "Genius of Universal Emancipation," edited by Benjamin Lundy. As I was then resident at Jonathan Maulsby's, I had opportunities to read Lundy's denunciations of that horrible system of oppression and outrage upheld by our boasted Republic. At this time, too, there was a society in Washington, called the Colonization Society, originated and supported by slaveholders, among them Henry Clay and other prominent men. The clergy and the churches upheld it as a most benevolent measure to remove free negroes to Africa.

Benjamin Lundy traveled much over the country and lectured against slavery where he could safely hold meetings. Even in the Northern states there was intense opposition to his work. As Samuel Maulsby and Alan W. Corson were subscribers to his paper, he doubtless felt free to call on them. So about 1830 he came to see Friend Maulsby, and after a consultation with him and Alan W. Corson, a meeting was agreed upon for the next evening. Word of it was sent round the neighborhood, and S. Maulsby, A. W. Corson, George Corson and wife, Jonathan Maulsby, Jonathan Adamson, and myself—only seven, all told—came together to hear Friend Lundy. The speaker, a small, spare, unassuming New Jersey Quaker, gave us a most interesting history of the movement then being made by the noted Sam Houston to get up a quarrel between Mexico and the United States, which would enable the latter power to wrest from Mexico that part of her territory lying east of the Rio Grande river. Friend Lundy had, on foot, traversed that great, almost wilderness region; had mingled with its people, and learned facts which plainly showed the object of Houston—an object finally accomplished—to give to slaveholders a large territory for the extension of slavery; a measure of much importance to them, as their lands were becoming greatly impoverished. After I had heard his facts and views

and conclusions on the subject, and the importance of our stirring up our friends to consider it and to do what they could to promote the abolition of slavery, a circumstance occurred, bearing on the subject, which led me to engage most earnestly in advocacy of the cause so strongly urged by Lundy, viz: "the unconditional and universal abolition of slavery." The renowned Elliot Cresson, President of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, called a meeting of the people of Whitpain township, at a school-house, midway between Pigeontown (now Blue Bell) and Centre Square, in order to form a colonization society tributary to the one at Washington. The colonization scheme, as I have said, was upheld by Henry Clay and other great slave-holders and political leaders. The ostensible object was to eventually abolish slavery, by taking negroes already free and others who might be freed to Africa, to found a great city in Liberia, and ultimately, in that way, abolish slavery in the United States. But the real object was regarded by some of our wisest and most philanthropic men as a plan to rid slave-holders of all free negroes, whose presence caused the slaves to be dissatisfied with their bondage: and would impel many of them to run away. When I heard that this meeting was to be held, I decided to attend, which I did, in company with Francis Dimond, a young lawyer of Norristown. I was known to most of the audience, even at that early period of the abolition struggle, as one of the fanatics, and Cresson was doubtless told of it, so, when he rose to speak, he said that he had been informed there were persons present who were opposed to the Colonization Society's views; he would, therefore, like to have them state their objections. We made no sign. He, after a brief pause, repeated his wish. I then rose and said: "We had come for information. We wished to know why two societies, both professing friendship for the slave and an anxiety to benefit him, should be hostile to each other. That if he would explain why this disagreement we would be obliged to him." He then began a speech without any reference at all to the subject of abolition, and told the persons assembled that "if the Colonization Society could obtain funds to carry on the great work it had in hand, farmers and

land-owners would be greatly benefited." Said he, "These fine oak trees will be very profitable to you, because as 'knees' for ships they are very valuable; and it will take a great many ships to carry all the negroes to Africa. There will be large cities built, the people will need hats, shoes and clothing of all kinds; also produce of every kind. And while you will thus aid us to liberate the slaves, you will yourselves be greatly benefited." He spoke at great length in this silly way, but not a word about the Abolition Society's movements. With an effort to overcome my timidity, I presented to the audience, as best I could, the claims of the abolitionists, in a brief speech, the first I ever made before any public meeting. The result was the dispersion of the people to their homes without any attempt to form a society. I am not aware that there was any Colonization Society formed in this county after that time, though there probably was, for the colonization scheme was regarded with favor and advocated by the clergy and fashionable people, while the Abolitionists were looked upon as fanatics; folks of not so high a grade of society; a set of cranks who were desirous, in defiance of law, to rob "our Southern brethren" of their property. Soon after this time the Abolitionists were actively at work in several localities in the county, using all the means at hand to awaken public sentiment in favor of freeing the slaves in the South. Even as early as this time, there were some who refused to use any of the products of slave-labor. Friend Lundy was an advocate of this measure—as was Lucretia Mott and others. This was laughed at by some; sneered at by others, pro-slavery people. But it had much influence with many sensible thinking persons, who were thus awakened to inquire whether they were not, in using slave products, in some degree upholders of the system. Thus many years later an opening was made for the introduction of sorghum sugar, instead of that made from the sugarcane. Some farmers in our county cultivated the sorghum and made sugar from it. There was a manufactory of it, at Springtown. So, too, substitutes were found for cotton goods. Thus the Abolitionists labored on, but it was not till 1837 that our county society was organized. Yet in our township soci-

eties and in our intercourse with the people, we had been so earnest in our opposition to slavery and its advocates, that we brought upon ourselves the blackguardism of the vulgar and the stern opposition of the so-called respectable people. A result we greatly regretted, but could not avoid unless we abandoned all advocacy for the freedom of the slaves. Those who were not participants in this labor to convert the people to a humane view of this subject; those who took no interest in it, who really felt no desire to have the slaves freed, often denounced us in the most abusive manner. "You want negroes to marry poor men's daughters; you wish to rob the owners of their property," etc., etc. I am ashamed to repeat their vile language which was showered upon us. But we persevered; held meetings in Friends' school-house at Plymouth; had lecturers to come to us from other places, to aid our own speakers, and thus we kept the subject before the people, at Plymouth and at other places in the county.

Before our County Society was formed, in 1837, we had been during several years engaged in the work and had been incited to perseverance in it by Lundy's "Genius of Emancipation," and by the fiery, fearless "Liberator," published by William Lloyd Garrison, in 1831. So, when we had organized our society, we were well informed on the subject of slavery and the slave trade, and able to hold our position in discussion with the pro-slavery advocates. Slaves were, of course, occasionally leaving their masters—had been doing so for a long time before, and our region, through which the underground railroad passed, was known to have stations at Norristown, Plymouth Meeting and other places where fugitives were received and harbored; and slaves from Maryland and Virginia sought it as a place of refuge; and slave catchers skulked here and there in our county in search of them. The first case of arrest of which I heard, was one in which my friend Isaac Ellis was engaged to rescue the fugitive and of which, now, so many years after its occurrence, I have learned but little. Isaac then lived on a farm on the road from Norristown to Centre Square—the Ellis farm, at or near Washington Square tavern. He was one day ploughing near to the

road-side, when two strange-looking wagons passed. They were large, close boxes, the driver sitting outside front. Believing that something was wrong, he took a horse from the plough and followed them. He stopped the foremost team and inquired their business. On receiving an evasive answer, he attempted to get into the wagon, but the man presented a pistol, and forbade his coming further. Isaac, in speaking of the affair afterward, said, "It did not occur to him that the pistol could hurt him, and in a moment he had the man down on the ground and was bumping his head on the road. They were taken before a magistrate and the boxes were found to contain a number of negroes who had been stolen, or arrested, in New Jersey as slave property, and were being taken South. They were all—the white men and the cargo—taken to New Jersey and the case there came to trial, but with what result I do not know." Thus has written my correspondent, one, now of 78 years of age, and of undoubted truth.

The next case that I heard of, when still in my teens, was an arrest of a colored man in a hut on the margin of the Wisahickon, where now is Ambler. The man had lived there with his family for several years and was regarded by the farmer as a valuable man. So when he was arrested much excitement prevailed, and Alan W. Corson and John Wilson, Friends and Abolitionists, were sent for, and though they made every possible effort to save him, he was finally carried off, I think; for the masters did not prosecute them, which slave-catchers always did, if they failed to get their "property," as they called the runaways.

The third case was away back about 1820. Near Spring Mill, a colored man, in the employ of Isaac Roberts, was seized in the house of Friend Roberts, a pistol being held before his face by one of the men sent from Philadelphia to arrest the slave. A scuffle ensued, during which Isaac Roberts jerked the pistol from the hand of the constable, and, though the latter and his aid held on to the colored man, they were taken half a mile towards Plymouth Meeting to the office of Esq. Jonathan Shoemaker, a Friend and long-time Justice of the Peace. Esq. Shoemaker had a son living in Baltimore

who was strongly in favor of slavery and the rights claimed by the masters. His father had doubtless been by him much prepossessed with like feelings, and without hesitation decided that the slave-catcher had a right to take his prey away. But Friend Roberts and other neighbors, who had gathered to the place, were not satisfied and had the party taken before an Associate Judge, at Norristown. The case was heard and the poor man handed over to his captors.

THE ARREST OF JOHN AND JIM LEWIS.

In order to have a better understanding of some parts of their history yet to follow, I may state that they were brothers, the slaves of Christian Miller, who lived a few miles beyond Harper's Ferry, in Virginia. At 3 o'clock Sunday morning, March 12, 1826, John, Jerry and Wesley Sinclair, their names then, and Anderson, a trusted friend, placed their heads together in their home at Christian Miller's and swore a solemn oath that they would not surrender to any eight men or a less number who might attempt to capture them. They would have started much earlier in the night, but that Jerry and Anderson lived 12 miles away and could not reach there sooner. The sister-in-law of the Sinclairs (widow of their eldest brother), a free woman, had provided John, who was the leading spirit, with a ham, two roasted chickens and a bag of biscuits. Armed with knives, pistols and corn-cutters, they started for the near-by Shenandoah river, where they found a small batteau. In it they floated down stream a mile to where it joins the Potomac; crossed it to the Maryland side, left the boat and started for Hagerstown. The father and mother of the three Sinclairs lived in Hagerstown and were free. It was about break of day when they were near Hagerstown, and were anxious to see the old folks, but were fearful of detection, being too near the home they had left, so kept on at a rapid pace all day, then rested all night in a woods a few miles above Hagerstown. After the first day they traveled at night and hid during the day. As they knew nothing of the geography of the country, and in travel by night, they made a zig-zag, tor-

tuous course, but finally reached Harrisburg. Without stopping there they took a more easterly course, came down through Norristown and finally brought up at the old Brant Tavern—the Seven Stars tavern in Plymouth township. Here was the first place that they inquired for work. Then they stopped at the store of Harman Yerkes, I have been told by Mrs. Morgan R. Wills, his granddaughter, who referred them to Mr. Peter Dager, also grandfather of Mrs. Wills, both of whom were anxious for their safety and encouraged them, and probably were instrumental in getting them work. It was a cold, disagreeable Sunday, and they were doubtless warmed and fed at Mr. Dager's. Afterward they got employment, Anderson with David Wilson; Ben, now John Lewis, with Hughes Bell, son-in-law of Ezra Comfort, all Friends. After a short time, Wesley Sinclair—now changed to Jim Lewis—hired with Solomon Jones, living near Frankford.

Ben, now John Lewis, after working one year with Hughes Bell, on the place now owned by Daniel Williams, engaged to drive team for Samuel Davis, a neighbor; stayed there one year, then hired with Peter Dager. Here he had a good time, and became well acquainted with the colored people for miles around. Among these friends was one, an enemy in disguise, from his own master's neighborhood. John loved him and shared bed and board with him whenever he needed them.

In the Independent, a weekly newspaper printed in Norristown some 20 years ago, there is, beginning on June 17, 1869, and running through eight numbers, a detailed account of the arrest of John and Jim Lewis, from which I will copy, not only to show that fiendish transaction but also to show the power slavery had in the Northern states. In a century hence it will scarcely be believed there ever was a time when a man could be seized by slave masters and their tools, bound and taken before Justices of the Peace, and Associate Judges, and there members of the Society of Friends would send him back as a slave.

THE HISTORY OF JOHN LEWIS;
OR, AN AMERICAN SLAVE AND HIS STRUGGLES FOR FREEDOM.

One cold morning in February, 1829, Ben and another colored man named George Sullivan, were thrashing with the dead thunder of alternate flails in Peter Dager's barn, in Whitmarsh township. On the morning in question the old gentleman was at a neighboring funeral. Ben had stopped a moment to clap his hands against his sides, right and left, to warn them up, when a man entered the barn door, whom he recognized as a Constable named Mat Haas. The officer asked, "Which is John Lewis?" Ben answered "Dat's de name of dis chile—what's yer will?"

Haas spoke: "I have a warrant for your arrest, sued out by a girl in Germantown." Poor Ben thought there must be some mistake, but he concluded after a moment's deliberation that perhaps he had better go quietly with the Constable and confront his fair accuser. "You had better come over to Squire Shoemaker's and try to settle it," proceeded the valiant Constable.

"Neber fear to meet any one, man or woman," answered Ben, and he threw down his flail, and turned to put on his coat. When he had his great arms outstretched to drive them into the sleeves of his jacket, the Constable at his back flew upon him, crying "Help! help! help!" when in rushed the aiders and abettors from every door of the barn, near which they had carefully concealed themselves.

Then the terrible situation flashed upon him, and in an instant he resolved to resist unto death. He kicked and struck and fought as never man fought; but ten men overpowered him, bound him with ropes and carried him out to the hack. Here was a sight to sicken the human heart! Covered with blood, bound in fetters, and threatened with knives and pistols, and, worse than all, with thoughts of slavery and the scourge of an infuriated master; but what added to his startled condition of sudden surprise was when thrown into the wagon to find already there, a passive captive to the slave-catchers, his brother Westley, in charge of his old master, Christian Miller! How had Miller found Westley? How had he found either of them? Had they not been secure for years in this secluded place, with their names changed and their history unknown? How had Christian Miller found them and how had they brought the two brothers together again who for years had lived miles asunder? All these questions flashed instantly across Ben's mind, and drawing his great legs up as he lay

upon his back, with one gigantic surge he drove the whole hind part of the carriage out, and kicked his great heels out through the very top of the hack. But the guardsmen mounted him and the word "go" was given. Out the road to Yerkes' corner, Harmanville as it is now known, down through the toll-gate to Bisbing's (now Kirkner's) tavern as hard as they could drive went the gang—Ben "kicking up ahind and afore" and screaming murder at the top of his voice.

It seems that Christian Miller and his gang had arrived at Bisbing's tavern, at Barren Hill, the evening before the arrest, and had made inquiry as to their bearings and distances, so as to make no mistake in the morning. After breakfast they started, and driving up as far as the toll-gate they stopped to procure warrants of arrest for the fugitives, Westley and Benjamin, of Jonathan Shoemaker, a Justice of the Peace, then residing at the corner near the toll-gate, on the Ridge road, where the road turns in to Dr. Hiram Corson's residence. Whilst waiting here one of the Loudon county men saw Westley coming up the pike on his way to pay a visit to Ben at Dager's. It was a most wonderful coincidence! For Westley had been sick for some time past and had not seen Ben for months. Why should he happen to come on that day? Why should the Fates throw him right into the claws of the kidnappers without any efforts on their part to entrap him? But, perhaps, as the sequel will show, it was all for the best.

Westley was recognized by his peculiar walk. They hailed him, and he fell an easy prey to their clutches. He asked them what they intended to do with him and they said "carry you safely back home." This was at the toll-gate, almost in sight of the spot where Ben was unconsciously flinging his flail and imagining himself as safe as St. John. Oh, if he had known it! How he would have rallied an army of rescue, and not only snatched his brother from their fiendish grasp but driven the slave-holders like chaff before the wind from the sacred soil of old Montgomery! But he did not know it.

When Ben was being borne from the barn amid his screams of murder and his desperate efforts of resistance, the workmen were hurrying to and from the house and would soon have come to his relief, but Mat Haas and his crowd hurried away with lightning speed. The workmen despatched a messenger for Peter Dager. The kidnappers had found him on the road, but Mr. Dager did not know that Ben was the man whose legs were hanging out the wagon and who was screaming murder. As soon as the information was delivered to him he sailed after them as fast as he could go, and catching

up to them at Bisbing's tavern, he demanded that the colored men should be taken to Norristown for trial; and although Miller and his party made many excuses, they had a freeman now to deal with, and one who was able to defend himself. Christian Miller feigned ignorance of the English language, and spoke in German; but finding that Peter Dager was perfectly at home in German and could swear as loud in Dutch as Miller could, the scared slaveholder passed at length an English accent suited to his tongue, dropped his German, and drove towards Norristown under guard of Peter Dager and his friends. By this time large crowds of quarrymen and neighbors had assembled, and no such excitement was ever known in Whitemarsh since the days of the Revolutionary War. The claimants were forced to throw the prisoners in jail for safe-keeping.

It may be asked how did Christian Miller know the whereabouts of his slaves? The answer is, through the treachery of a free colored man, formerly of Loudon county, but who was in Philadelphia, and meeting Ben came out on one occasion to share his hospitality and friendship. Oh, ingratitude, ingratitude! Yet how often are falsehood and treachery, backbiting and deceit, the cause of the most fearful woes and misery!

The trial at Norristown took place before Judge Jones, without jury, as none was required by the law, as it then stood. The short notes of the Judge give some idea of the spirit and energy with which the great contest for the captives was fought by the lawyers; but they scarcely give an adequate idea of the legal acumen and depth of learning for which the counsel engaged were so eminent in their day.

Those notes of the hearing, on file in the Prothonotary's office, show that it took place on February 6th, 1829, before Hon. Richard B. Jones, Assistant Judge of the courts. The counsel for the claimant were Wm. B. Powel, B. Bartholomew and Thomas M. Jolly, Esquires. The counsel for the prisoners were John Freedley and J. W. Rowland, Esquires. The warrant of the 'Squire, issued on application of plaintiff claiming the prisoners as his slaves, was offered in evidence to show the authority for the arrest. Testimony of four witnesses was heard on part of the claimant, identifying the prisoners, and proving them to be the property of the claimant, that they with two other slaves had escaped from their masters in Virginia, and that a reward of \$100 each, \$400 in all, had been offered by hand-bills and advertisements for their recapture.

Their arrest and the manner of their arrest was described in detail. All this evidence was taken under objections, and with much legal sparring. Four witnesses came forward to give such testimony as they could on behalf of the prisoners.

At the argument the plaintiff's attorney cited the act of Congress of 1793, and the law of Pennsylvania of 1826, authorizing the arrest of fugitive slaves in this state, and setting forth the legal proceedings by which they should be returned to their masters in other states.

The prisoners' counsel made such defense as they could, but without avail.

The Judge decided that the said Westley and Benjamin were fugitive slaves from the state of Virginia, and that they owed service or labor to Christian Miller, and he therefore issued his decree authorizing said Christian Miller to return his slaves to Virginia, from whence they had fled.

After the trial was over and the poor fellows had been adjudged the property of other men, according to law, they all met at the hotel, then standing at the corner of Main and DeKalb streets, now Baker & Grady's drug store. Here were Christian Miller, James Doyle and Joseph Mead, of Virginia; Peter Dager, George Egbert, Thomas Egbert, Samuel Davis, George Cress, Nathan Detterer, Morris Righter, Harman Yerkes, Joseph Shepard and others of the vicinity of the tragedy, who showed some signs of fight and indications of a rescue. Ben's old master asked him for the wages he had earned while playing freeman. Ben did not like the idea of handing over his hard-earned wages, and consequently he told a lie, and said he had spent his money, although he had about \$250, gold and silver watches, a gun, and good clothes.

Peter Dager could not stand the thought of allowing them to return to slavery, and John Lewis would have died rather than allow himself to wear again the galling yoke of bondage. What was to be done? Peter Dager knew what was to be done, and he did it. He promptly bargained for John Lewis at the price or sum of \$600, and Ezra Comfort bought the brother for \$300. After the bargain had been made all parties parted friends. Mr. Dager told John he might have twenty years to buy himself in, but John went to work with the old gentleman, and in short order the debt was liquidated, and John Lewis was a free man.

Miller told John that if he had not been so violent when captured he would not have been so hard on him, but he made him a small present. John Lewis soon married, and with

his wife and children lived many years on a little lot near Spring Mill, which they bought of Isaac Williams, respected by all who knew them. James Lewis, the brother, lived on the adjoining lot, bought by him from the same Mr. Williams, whilst Christian Miller and the infamous slave laws have passed away forever.

In the year 1837, though our numbers were very few, we got up a county anti-slavery society—twenty members, perhaps, in all.

We agreed to associate as an anti-slavery society, of which the following is the constitution :

Article 1st. The society shall be called The Montgomery County Anti-Slavery Society.

Article 2d. The objects of this society shall be the entire and immediate abolition of slavery throughout the United States, and the restoration of our colored brethren, bond and free, to all those rights and privileges to which justice and humanity entitle them. The means to be used in the attainment of these objects shall be such only as are sanctioned by the precepts of the gospel, and the laws and constitution of our country, and shall consist in the application of truth to the understanding and conscience of our fellow-citizens. The society shall use its endeavors to induce Congress to abolish slavery and the slave trade, in the District of Columbia and such other places as are under the exclusive legislation of Congress.

Articles 3d, 4th, 5th and 6th merely describe the officers, their duties, holding meetings, etc.

In June, 1837, John G. Whittier sent a long, printed document to Alan W. Corson, secretary of our society, urging immediate action of the society, by petition to Congress, against the schemes of Southern slaveholders to wrest Texas from Mexico—the very thing Benjamin Lundy had predicted many years before—and to prevent Florida from becoming a slave state, and for trial by jury of persons claimed as slaves. In reference to Texas the petition held the following language : "If that immense slave-holding territory, large enough for six or eight states as big as Kentucky, is annexed to the Union, it

will probably involve us in a war with Mexico; will open a large slave market and thus give a new spring to slavery in the old states; will give the slave-holding states a fearful predominance in the nation; will enable the South to trample freedom of speech, and the press the right of petition and locomotion, the right of organization and even of prayer for the slaves, under foot by law and constitution; for they may soon have the power (and will they lack the inclination?) to alter our United States Constitution to their wishes. Now, would the North submit to this? We fear the Union will be dissolved if Texas is annexed to it." This stirring appeal incited us to earnest work.

At a meeting of the society held at Abraham Markley's hotel, in Norristown, 21st day of 8th-mo., 1837, John P. Rutter in the chair, Joseph Lukens, Robert B. Landis, Joseph Henry, Abel Fitzwater, Alan W. Corson and others present, it was resolved that a committee be appointed to address our Representative at Washington, Hon. Jacob Fry, upon the subject of presenting the petitions of said citizens of our county against the annexation of Texas, and in favor of the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia; and to endeavor to learn whether he will represent our views on these subjects, in his place, as a member of Congress. Abel Fitzwater, William B. Thomas, John P. Rutter and Alan W. Corson were appointed.

On motion, Resolved, That the next meeting be held at the school house at the Gulf, of which the secretary is desired to give notice.

Resolved, That John B. Lewis, Robert Iredell and Alan W. Corson be a committee to forward petitions against the annexation of Texas before the 15th of next month.

Upon motion, Abel Fitzwater and Robert Landis were appointed to procure a lecturer to attend the next meeting.

At a stated meeting of the society at the Gulf school-house, 10th-mo. 16th, 1837, Vice President William B. Thomas in the chair, the committee to draft by-laws was continued, and Robert W. Landis, William Jones and John Lewis were ap-

pointed to report on the letter of the Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Society.

On motion George Corson, F. B. Lewis, J. Adamson, John Barnet and John P. Rutter were appointed to propose to next meeting what they consider necessary to do to augment our party.

At the next meeting of the society the committee to consider the paper from the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society report that our funds are not now sufficient to extend that society any aid; but recommend that a subscription be taken up for that purpose.

The committee to whom was assigned the duty of considering what will be necessary and proper to carry into effect the views of the society, as expressed in the constitution of the society, report:

"That they believe it will be most effectually promoted by exciting the public attention to examine the tendency of slavery, not only on its unrighteous action on the enslaved; its heart-hardening influence upon the master; but also its injurious action on the rights of freemen, and its direct tendency to hinder the onward march of the spirit of reform that, within the last half century, has done so much to ameliorate the condition of a considerable portion of mankind.

"For which purpose we recommend: 'That every abolitionist subscribe for, receive, read and circulate, one or more anti-slavery newspapers. These vary in price from 12½ cents to two dollars per year. It is necessary for abolitionists to keep themselves informed of the progress of the cause, because 'out of sight, out of mind.'

"That for this purpose we recommend that this society subscribe for and distribute anti-slavery publications.

"That the members avail themselves of such opportunities as may present themselves to have lectures delivered in their respective neighborhoods upon this subject—and, principally, that efforts be made to form societies to meet at stated periods, and that women, as well men, become members; or, that separate societies be formed. Signed by Wm. Jones, Abel Fitz-

water, John Lewis, George Corson, Thomas Foulke and Nathan Lewis."

I have not access to the minutes of all meetings held by the society, but on November 5th, 1838, the society having 45 (forty-five) members, held a meeting at Lumberville, in Upper Providence township (where were a number of earnest workers), with Dr. Hiram Corson as President. John Barnet (a preacher among Friends), Abel Fitzwater, Jonathan A. Samson and Alan W. Corson were appointed a committee to prepare petitions to the Legislature.

John Lewis, Charles Corson, John Barnet and Jonathan Adamson were appointed to name officers for the society for the coming year; and a committee, consisting of Charles Corson, Charles Rutter and Wm. B. Thomas (of the Gulf), were appointed to circulate petitions. Prior to the above meeting, the great abolition orator, Charles Burleigh, of Connecticut, had strongly urged our society to send delegates to the meeting of the State Society, on September 11th, 1838, which was afterwards done.

At a meeting held at Lumberville, April 15th, 1839, Elizabeth Jacobs, Jane Tyson and Ellen Barnet were made a committee to nominate representatives of our society to influence American women in Philadelphia to meet with us next month. Rowland Jones, James Quinton and Lloyd Jones were named. I ought to say here that the wives of members and many other women attended the meetings and were active in distributing the pamphlets on the subject of the horrors of slavery in our Southern states, petitions and in other work.

The by-laws of the society had the following:

"Any person approving the objects of this society, as stated in Article 2d of the constitution, may become a member by signing the constitution and making a quarterly contribution, at their individual option, to the funds of the society."

We were now fairly under way—well organized, and continued to hold meetings when good places could be obtained.

Many efforts were made by us to get permission to hold meetings in the churches, when our great orators from abroad could address large audiences, but without avail. There were among our working abolitionists a few members of various

religious denominations, but in every instance their avowal of interest in the cause, and their efforts to influence their church members, resulted in a loss of standing and influence in the church. Even the loved Lucretia Mott, one of the first, truest friends of the slave and a great worker for their emancipation, lost influence in the Society of Friends, and felt the chilly atmosphere of the meeting, whenever she, in her sermons, touched the subject of slavery and asked for efforts for its abolition. I know full well that Plymouth Friends now deny the "soft impeachment," but I was time upon time a living witness to the fact. Elijah Pennypacker, too, one of their ministers, and a man of note as Canal Commissioner of this state, was treated in the same way. But this was not because of indifference in regard to this subject; there was not one among them that upheld the rightfulness of slavery. All were in favor of its abolition. But they claimed to be, as a society, against slavery and intemperance, and, therefore, they said, it was not necessary for Lucretia Mott, Elijah Pennypacker and others to go outside of the society and join others who were not members, in holding meetings, especially as those meetings were often assailed by rude, vulgar people, in opposition to the abolitionists, who were holding them. The advocacy of justice and freedom for the slave by people of such distinction and unsullied lives as those whom I have named was of great benefit to the cause. This subject was not treated with favor in any of the churches in this county prior to 1841, when Rev. Samuel Aaron came to Norristown. In the Norristown Episcopal Church, whose pastor was Rev. Nathan Stem, there was great dissatisfaction, and some left the church in consequence of his having presided at one of the abolition meetings. A few were favorable to his course, and the opposition was headed by Mr. Adam Slemmer. It was at one time feared that a division would take place. But of this controversy more hereafter.

In the Presbyterian Church I knew of none favorable to abolition. Mr. William Powell, a lawyer of much influence, spoke and wrote in opposition to it.

There was in truth a strong pro-slavery feeling in Norristown.

In the Jeffersonville Presbyterian Church the Rev. I. Landis was minister. He was bold in opposition to abolitionists and in his advocacy of slavery as a divine institution, and wrote for the Norristown newspapers on the subject. But he proved himself to be so unsatisfactory that the society rid themselves of him pretty soon, an act honorable to the congregation.

In the early days of the abolition movement—say from 1830 to 1845, the years in which the opposition was greatest—we were not allowed to hold meetings in any of the churches.

I mention these things, not as matters of reproach to these religious bodies, but merely to show how this subject reached all classes of society, and as facts which grew out of the diverse feelings produced in the minds of people equally humane and not in favor of slavery. Opposition to reforms are always inevitable, and seem to be essential in all efforts to produce permanent ones. It is a well-established fact, announced by Herbert Spencer, and confirmed by our own experience, "that any reform to be permanent must be slowly effected." It would thus appear that the opponents of reform are as necessary—and why not as worthy?—as the advocates of it. They all act from strong convictions and I trust conscientiously.

The headquarters for the agitators at Norristown and in all the region from the Schuylkill river to Jenkintown was at Plymouth Meeting. There lectures were pretty regularly delivered at our meetings. Several young men from Philadelphia took turns in coming, and ardently advocated the rightfulness and importance of the movement. So our meetings came to be attended by more and more of the thoughtful people. All were free to express their opinions, and very often heated discussions were had with our opponents who were inflated with their capacity to present arguments in favor of slavery, as based on Bible testimony, or because the "negro had no rights which white people were bound to respect." Some of these meetings, indeed, many of them, were made occasions for riot, disorder and abuse of us, which we sometimes had difficulty to quell. The young men from Philadelphia,

men who favored us, were Benjamin Jones, his brother Dylwyn Jones, Daniel Neal (the dentist), Daniel M. Miller, James Wright, whose death recently occurred in Philadelphia, at the age of 76. They were all young men of ability, and earnest in their work. Afterwards, as speakers sent out through the state—and especially through Chester, Delaware, Bucks and Montgomery—came the orators, William, Charles, Cyrus and George Burleigh, all fine speakers, and Charles, one of the most brilliant and effective orators to whom I ever listened. Then began our regular meetings throughout the county. The mere announcement that an abolition meeting would be held at a designated place, to be addressed by Charles Burleigh, would cause the farmer to quit his plough, the artisan his workshop, the friends of the cause, and even many of the pro-slavery community, to be in attendance.

So was it, too, in a conspicuous degree, when meetings were gotten up for Stephen and Abby Foster, Miller McKim, and (after 1841) Frederick Douglass, of whom Mr. T. W. Higginson wrote, "His glow and fervor are extraordinary, and so is his dramatic power; and he surpasses, in his perception of the finer felicities of the English language, all other self-made men whom I have ever known." The men who came forward, to publicly advocate the rights of the slave to freedom, in the face of an almost universal opposition to their arguments and pleadings, and that this great Republic should relieve itself before the world of the odium attached to our permitting a system so horrible to exist here, were no ordinary men. Conscientious, truthful, eloquent and perfectly acquainted with the atrocities perpetrated on the poor Africans from the moment they were seized until, after suffering the horrors of the "Middle Passage," they were under the whip of the slave-driver in the cotton fields and rice fields of our boasted republic; then abolition speakers were a power in advocacy of the slave. At that time many intelligent, humane, religious ladies—wives and mothers—stood aloof from our societies, did not even attend their meetings, but seemed to regard them, as some ladies now regard the Woman Suf-

frage Association, as being too plebeian for them to be connected with.

But an incident occurred that aroused them to a sense of their false position and brought them by scores to be earnest participators in the work. Mrs. Eliza Roberts, a lady of great distinction, living in Upper Merion, the wife of Jonathan Roberts, Pennsylvania's distinguished United States Senator during General Jackson's administration, came forth as an advocate of our cause. She was at the very head of society in the county, and before her marriage to Mr. Roberts, during his Senatorial term, a leader in Washington society, well acquainted with the horrors of slavery as it existed then in the Southern states. This noble woman came forward and plead with the people to devote themselves to this humane work. She first addressed the people of her neighborhood, at Norristown, Plymouth Meeting and other places, where friends of the cause invited her to meetings of neighbors gathered in their homes. Well do I remember her earnest appeals, her desire for the success of the cause. But of Mrs. Roberts and her doings I shall say more hereafter. From the time we were fairly organized for the work, the struggle, year after year, went on. In 1841, Rev. Samuel Aaron came to Norristown and opened a school, and from that time until the war began, in 1861, he was a most effective laborer. He rivalled even the eloquent Charles Burleigh in his just denunciation of slavery and his appeals for justice to the slave. These thirty years or more spent in advocacy of right and justice to the slave was no holiday picnic. The vilest abuse was heaped upon us; and threats of violence and a resort to boycotting were used against us. In Horsham a young storekeeper who took part with us, I am informed, was the victim of a concocted plan to refuse to deal with him, by very respectable people of that neighborhood; and so efficient was their work that his business was ruined, and he was compelled to leave it. We were nearly all young men engaged in business for a livelihood and were thus open for attacks to injure us, and this was often done, even by people termed respectable. We were all ready to aid escaping slaves, to entertain speakers sent to us by the Phil-

adelphia and State Societies, ready to purchase and distribute anti-slavery publications, but no family in the Plymouth Meeting region bore so large a part of this work as George and Martha Corson (parents of Dr. E. M. Corson, Norristown), living in the old Maulsby home, afterwards the home of their son-in-law, the artist Hovenden.

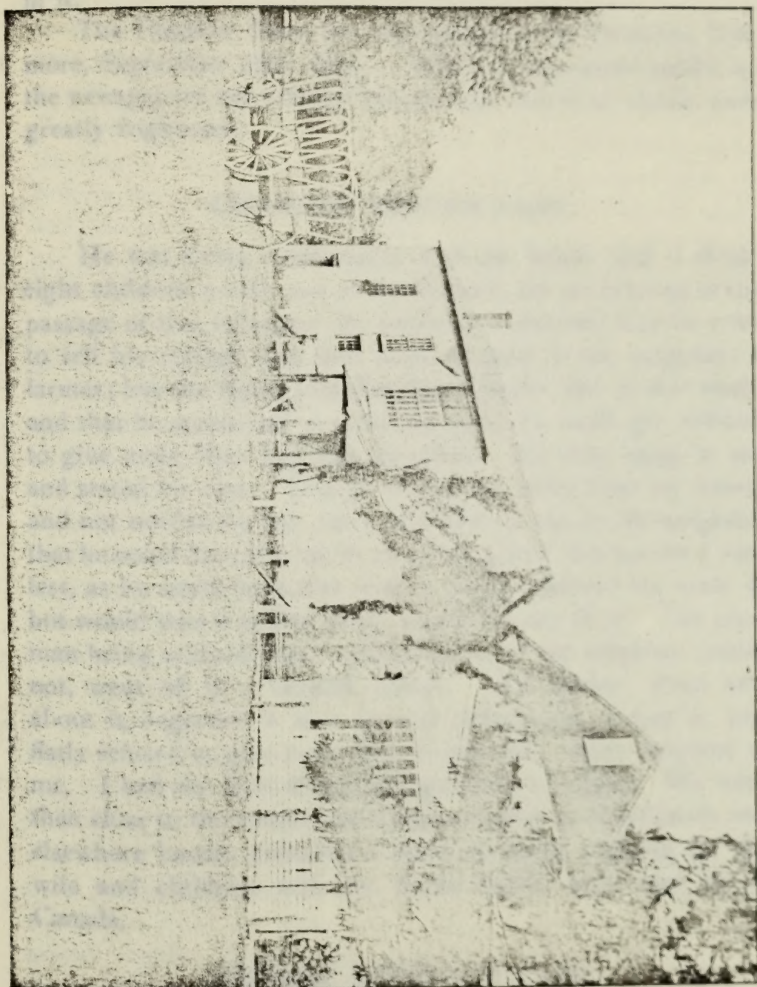
It was by them that the lecturers from whatever place they came, were entertained. It was there that the slaves who reached this region were housed and fed until they could be passed further on towards Canada. During all the time of this thirty years war, this went on. The slaves were escaping so often from the borders of Maryland and Virginia, and afterward their whereabouts seemed so utterly lost to the owners, that in a convention about it by a few, one of them said, "There must be an underground railroad somewhere." Thus the phrase is said to have originated. At the time it was little known to the public. But slaves in Maryland and Virginia had learned that if they could get to York in Pennsylvania, they could find safety at Daniel Gibbons'; or, if they got to Columbia, the house of William Wright was always open for them; or, missing these places, at Harrisburg there were persons ready to receive them. The difficulty of crossing the river between Havre de Grace and Columbia, and the facility of doing it on the bridges at Columbia and Harrisburg, led most of them to struggle on to those places. This was the reason that nearly all who came to this county had come to us either from one or the other of these towns. The underground railroad branched from these places to Norristown, Phoenixville, Pottstown and Plymouth Meeting, from whence fugitives were safely transferred to Richard Moore, at Quakertown, or to some one at Newtown. There should be an extended notice of good Richard Moore, to whom fugitives came by many lines, and who always received them cordially and cared for them until he could send them, safely, further on the road to Canada. But this must be left for a Bucks county historian. As already stated, we were all, here at Plymouth Meeting, prepared to receive runaways, and care for them, but it was to George Corson's—our regular headquar-

ters—that they were generally forwarded and were more frequently entertained than at any other places in the Plymouth region. Alan and myself were equally willing to receive them, but as it was easier for the slave to find George's home, it being in front of Friends' meeting-house, they were generally directed to it. On one occasion I was called upon by a fugitive, who, without a word, handed me a piece of paper, with only my name on it. He said it had been given to him at Havre de Grace. It was surprising to me how he had made his way here. Directions had, of course, been given to him, and the name was to aid him by being shown, now and then, when not sure of the road. Scarcely any came to Norris-town, Plymouth, or the country around here, but had a paper with the name of some one—Dr. Wm. Corson, Isaac Roberts, Jacob Bodey, Laurence Corson, Samuel Aaron—or if directed here, to Alan W. Corson, or George, or myself.

And others were the receivers of them. The paper delivered, then the slave gave his history and was provided for. George Corson had many, very many, sent to him. One night a whole family came to my house, man, wife and five children, the eldest a delicate mulatto girl of about 16 years. Next day, furnished with needed expenses, they were put on the underground railroad for Canada. To George's home they came frequently, and his carriage and horses helped them on to the next station, sometimes only to Wm. Foulke's, at Penllyn, sometimes to Wm. H. Johnson's, at Buckingham, or to Mahlon Linton's at Newtown, Bucks county. In the middle of these exciting times, we were so interfered with in our meetings by the opponents of our cause, that brother George built a hall and furnished it with seats to comfortably accommodate 150 or 200 persons, where we could safely carry on our work without disturbance; this, too, was a place where the slaves could be housed and cared for. Rousing meetings against slavery and intemperance were held there during many years.

This hall has been spoken of as being built by "the Corsons," when, in fact, not one of us did anything toward it, save only George. He was at the whole expense, because it was on

GORSON HALL.



About the year 1850, when the
a by-road from the town of
the junction of the road with the
overlook a view of the town
of a few feet higher than the
neck, the water was then

his property and he did not want others to have ownership in it.

The Fugitive Slave law was approved by President Fillmore, September 18th, 1850. When it was made public by the newspapers our colored people who had been slaves were greatly frightened.

CHARLES BRICE'S CASE.

He was living comfortably with his family and, I think, eight children, a mile east of Norristown, but on hearing of the passage of that infamous law became so alarmed that he tried to sell his cottage and four acres of land to his neighbor, a farmer; but the latter, knowing that Charles was in this strait, and that he would sell at whatever price he could get, refused to give more than half that he asked. He then came to me and stated his case. Though it was two miles from my home, and not needed by me, yet I told him to say to his neighbor that he could have the lot for the price asked, but not for a cent less, as he could have that from a friend who did not want it, but would take it at that price, should he not do it. The poor man being assured that I would take it, if the neighbor would not, went off in a hopeful mood. The farmer, when told about it, regarded it as a ruse to induce him to buy it, and flatly refused to give more than he had bid. Brice returned to me. I had the deed drawn and paid him his price. We were then close to the winter, and humane ladies in Norristown and elsewhere hastily provided a store of warm clothing for the wife and children, and the whole family were sent on to Canada.

GEORGE CORSON'S CASE.

About the year 1840 brother George was returning on a by-road from a visit to his brother Charles, then living at the junction of the Perkiomen and Skippack creeks. He overtook a man on horseback, who was followed at a distance of a few feet by a colored man, with a rope tied around his neck, the other end being held by the person on horseback.

George inquired of the mounted man why the other was treated in that way. The man replied: "He is my slave who had run away." He was then asked by what authority he held him. He said, "By a warrant from Esquire Jacob Vanderslice." Indignant at this outrage George hurried on to Norristown and waited their arrival, with a process to arrest the master. Soon the slave-catcher, confident in his rights, and bold in the presence of those pretended lovers of human rights and boasters of our free country, but ever ready to kiss the rod of slavery, came slowly riding into Norristown, just before sunset, with the rope still around the slave's neck. He was at once taken before a justice of the peace. The people gathered around, anxious inquiries were made as to the person who had the audacity to question the right of this quiet, peaceable man to do with his slave as he pleased. Great scorn was expressed for the busy abolitionists; much sympathy given to the abused slave-holder. It was soon decided, by the aid of a lawyer, whose sons have since nobly fought the battle for freedom to the slaves of our country, that the claimant of the slave had a right to take his slave wherever, and in whatever way, he pleased, through the state. George, of course, had the costs to pay, but so much was he pained to see that a man could be thus dragged through our great free state, that, in the presence of the jeers and insults of the low, debased fellows of that crowd, he denounced slavery, its aiders and abettors, in tones of scorn and loathing. But the man-thief was left with his prey. Through the advice of the better class of people who stood around, but who yet knelt before the Southern slave power, as personified by that hunter of slaves, the rope was taken from the slave's neck, and he guarded while the master regaled himself with a good supper. That night he disappeared with his supperless man.

the correspondent of the New York Tribune, which I hope I may be excused for giving long as it is. He wrote:

"It was a bold and perilous move on the part of her friends, and the deepest apprehensions were felt for the result. The United States Marshal was there with his warrant to take her, and an extra force to execute it. The officers of the

THE CASE OF JANE JOHNSON AND HER BOYS OF SEVEN AND ELEVEN YEARS.

Though this case occurred in Philadelphia it may, properly, be noted here, as she finally found refuge in our county. A slave-holder named Wheeler, of Virginia, who gloried in the title of U. S. Minister to Nicaragua, brought Jane and her sons to Philadelphia. When on the steamboat at Walnut street wharf, William Still and Passmore Williamson were informed that they were on board. They reached the boat just in time to tell the woman that as the master had brought her to Pennsylvania, she was by the laws of the state free. Then she, taking her boys by the hand, left the boat, just as it was about to leave for New York. She was then put in a carriage and driven many squares away and secreted in the house of an abolitionist. Messrs. Still and Williamson, two of Philadelphia's best citizens, were then tried for their abducting, or, at least, interfering with Mr. Wheeler's rights to his property; and on this mad, baseless charge, supported by false testimony and the infamous rulings of Judge John F. Kane, Mr. Williamson was imprisoned for more than three months. During these proceedings Jane and her boys had been taken to Boston, and cared for by friends to the slave. But, as Wheeler's testimony was so false as to endanger the parties on trial, the risk was taken to bring Jane from Boston to confront him, which she did satisfactorily. Mr. Williamson's sentence to imprisonment was not because of what happened on the boat, but for "contempt of court," as Judge Kane called it, in not producing her before the court when called upon to do it; and which he was unable to do, not knowing at all where she was. How intense was the anxiety of all concerned in bringing Jane before the court is set forth by the correspondent of the New York Tribune, which I hope I may be excused for giving, long as it is. He wrote:

"It was a bold and perilous move on the part of her friends, and the deepest apprehensions were felt for the result. The United States Marshal was there with his warrant to take her, and an extra force to execute it. The officers of the

court and other state officers were there to protect the witnesses and vindicate the laws of the state. Vandyke, the United States District Attorney, swore he would take her. The state officers swore he should not, and for awhile it seemed that nothing could avert a bloody scene. It was expected the conflict would take place at the door, when she should leave the room, so that when she and her friends went out, and for some time after, the most intense suspense prevailed in the court room. She was, however, allowed to enter the carriage that awaited her without disturbance. She was accompanied by Mr. McKim, Secretary of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, Lucretia Mott and George Corson, and one of our most manly and intrepid police officers. The carriage was followed by another filled with officers as a guard; and thus escorted she was taken back in safety to the house from which she had been brought."

The following night, in a close carriage, she was brought to the house of George Corson, at Plymouth Meeting, where for a few days, in privacy, she received the kind ministrations of Martha Maulsby Corson, wife of George, and one of the earliest and most devoted of the abolitionists of the region.

Mahlon Linton and wife, abolitionists of Bucks county, happened to be on a visit to George Corson and family, and it was concluded that a son of George Corson, then only eleven or twelve years of age—but now Dr. E. M. Corson, of Norristown—should, with a carriage having Jane in it, as he did not know the road, closely follow Mr. Linton's carriage through the night to Mr. Linton's home, beyond Newtown, Bucks county. After dark they started, and all through the night went on, reaching this second underground station, Mr. Linton's home, before the morning dawned. From there she was helped on to Canada, to where her two boys had already been sent.

FREE SOIL.

Time wore on; year followed year, and the abolitionists of our county, slowly increasing in numbers as our numerous speakers plead for the slave, were not surprised that a new political party was being formed. James G. Birney, who, as an Alabama slave-holder, had liberated his slaves at a loss of thousands of dollars, and then came to Cincinnati and es-

tablished the "Philanthropist" (whose press had been thrown by a mob into the Ohio river), and had been secretary of the National Anti-Slavery Society, was selected as the new-party candidate for the Presidency of the United States, in 1841. Abolitionists here, as elsewhere, were divided in relation to the propriety of this movement, and both of the old political parties made strong appeals to us not to throw away our votes upon a measure which by no possibility could be a success, but which would jeopard the success of the party to which we had so long adhered. A few of us had resolved to vote for Mr. Birney, the "Free Soil" candidate. Brother George and myself, on election morning, made our way to Sellers' tavern, the polling place for three townships. Soon after our arrival my friend, Doctor Joshua Y. Jones, of Upper Dublin, taking me to one side, out of the crowd, said: "Are you going to vote for Birney?" I said "Yes." "Well, now," he said, "I wish you would not attempt it, for I overheard them saying if you did they would ride you upon a rail." "Doctor," I said, "I have never ridden on a rail and don't expect to do so to-day. We," referring to George and myself, "have made up our minds to bear any amount of slander and tongue abuse, but the man who first lays his hand upon us, in anger, will do it as his peril. We will vote for Birney." After further vain appeals to us to secure exemption from abuse, Doctor Jones left us and mingled with the crowd, to discourage, as we believed, any attack upon us. We were in the prime of vigorous manhood, had scorned the threats and repelled the assaults of the cowardly ruffians who for ten years had given us trouble in our meetings at Plymouth Meeting school-house and elsewhere; were believers in the right and duty of self-preservation, and ready and determined to defend and preserve it, at whatever peril to ourselves or our assailants. So, when opportunity offered, we presented our tickets, which were at once received. Alan W. Corson and Jonathan Adamson also voted for Free Soil; we four, and no more, in Whitemarsh township. I know not how many votes were cast for Birney in the county. John P. Rutter, Charles Rutter and Joseph Neide, all of Pottstown, also voted for him, I am told. In the state, the

ticket was voted by 62,263 persons. This, though, does not show the number of abolitionists in the state at that time, as very many of them doubted the policy of having a third party, and women abolitionists had no vote.

I mention the above incident to show the feeling which prevailed and which confronted us, in some form, every day. Time wore on, and our society continued its work, holding indoor and out-door meetings, in which the advocates of freedom for the slave, such as the eloquent Charles Burleigh, Abby Kelly, Stephen Foster, Miller McKim, Samuel Aaron and others from abroad and some of us in the county, laid bare the atrocities of slavery, and urged the people to greater interest in the subject. We also contributed to send delegates to the meetings appointed by the Philadelphia and State Anti-Slavery Societies.

In 1848, Jonathan Roberts, Junior, son of the old United States Senator, George Corson and myself went to a convention of the Free Soil party, at Buffalo, New York, as representatives of abolitionists here. The meeting was presided over by Salmon P. Chase, well known since for his important services in the war of the Rebellion.

I have written this general account of things which occurred in our county in abolition times, and knowing, as I did, nearly all who participated in the work in the few townships in which any work was done, I have concluded to ascertain from their descendants the names of all those whom they had heard their parents speak of as being abolitionists. As it was a name of reproach, it impressed itself strongly on the minds of those who had heard it applied to others. I, therefore, set about it in earnest, writing to them in every town and township which was known to me as having had in them any of our workers. In this way I have been able to learn the name and place of residence of every family identified as abolitionists. I find them in the townships of Upper and Lower Merion, Upper and Lower Providence, Norristown and Norriton township, Pottstown, Pottsgrove, Whitmarsh, Horsham, Abington, Cheltenham, Upper Dublin, Towamencin and Plymouth.

It appears to me, now, that if I speak of each group separately, of how their work was carried on, and who were comprised in the various individual or separate ones, I shall scarcely miss a single one who participated in the struggle. Of these I will speak first of the

NORRISTOWN GROUP.

The Norristown group had their headquarters in the office of Dr. William Corson. It was a place that all the abolitionists there felt a freedom to visit, and one to which abolitionists and agents of the underground railroad at Columbia, York and Harrisburg could refer the fugitive, with an assurance that he could find, when Norristown was reached, a welcome there, and it was, too, a place readily found by the run-aways.

There in his back office, or upstairs rooms, or in the barn, where he had a room, they could stay, unknown to all but the friends in the borough. And who were these white people sneeringly spoken of as abolitionists? The early ones were Dr. William Corson, Isaac Roberts, Laurence Corson, Jacob Paxson, his brother William Paxson, Robert Iredell, then editor of the "Herald and Free Press," Jacob Bodey, George Bodey, Joseph Bodey, George Wright, James Hoo-ven, Chas. Jones, Lloyd Jones, his son, Mordecai Moore, Dr. George Thomas, Rev. Nathan Stem, Joseph Rowland, Jacob Hoffman, Thomas Read and the wives and grown-up sons and daughters of those people.

After 1841, Rev. Samuel Aaron, John Roberts, Morgan Wright, Comly Wright, D. J. McVaugh.

And after 1844, when the voting abolitionists were well organized and Birney was their candidate for the Presidency, many who had persistently stood aloof, now sought places in the ranks, and became desirous to be recognized as members of the despised party of fanatics. But I have yet to name colored people who were as true, vigilant and faithful as any of those already named, viz: "Old Dan Ross," his wife, "Ben" Johnson, John Augusta, and, though less prominent in the

work, all the colored people of Norristown. Dan Ross and wife should have had a place in William Still's interesting history of the underground railroad.

When a fugitive had reached Dr. Corson's office, he was rested and cared for; the abolition brethren notified of the fact, and the runaway's history of his escape heard. The next step was to send for "Old Dan" to have his counsel. They were generally taken by him to his home on Green street, just beyond Jacoby street, and kept until arrangements were made to pass him on to Canada. The number of fugitives who came to Norristown and were thus protected was very large.

It was not till 1845 that Ben Johnson and three others came from Virginia, by way of Harrisburg, direct to Norristown. Ben is now deceased, but the other three and Ben's wife and grown sons and daughters are still there, occupying the house and lot, which he had accumulated while in the work against slavery.

Soon after he came to Norristown he engaged very earnestly. I was one evening in the back office of my brother, Dr. Wm. Corson, when Ben came in with his face showing that there was serious business on his mind. There had been some slaves captured now and then during the time he had been in Norristown, in other counties, and in Philadelphia, and the Norristown colored man had a suspicion that one of those in Norristown was sending word to the owners of any that he could learn had come away from slavery. And they now had suspicion of one who had gone to Philadelphia in the cars, as they believed, to betray them. This he told us and that he was down to watch for him, and he added, "he muth die." "Oh, Ben, you must not talk that way," my brother said. Ben was silent for a brief time, as if weighing the counsel, then raising his clenched hand above his head, brought it down with tremendous force and again said, "He muth die."

The reader wonders if I have forgotten Rev. Samuel Aaron. No, I shall never forget him, hero that he was. But he did not come to Norristown until 1841. When he did come, and joined hands with the few who, for years, had been sneeringly pointed at as abolitionists, they were cheered. It

was as though a host had joined them. For a time he was engaged in teaching in the old academy, but later became minister of the Baptist Meeting, on Swede street. The leading men of the meeting, before Samuel Aaron came, were not favorable to abolition, but favored colonization. The following information in relation to the people of some of the churches was given to me by Mr. George Wright, an abolitionist, and one of the prominent members of the Baptist Church, now over 80 years of age, but still full of mental and physical vigor. He said an attempt was made to establish a colonization society in Norristown. The secretary of the Philadelphia society came to Norristown and visited B. F. Hancock, Esq., a Baptist, and Adam Slemmer, an Episcopalian, who both favored the scheme. A meeting of a few church members, not alone Episcopalians, was held in the Baptist meeting-house. Esq. Hancock was President, Adam Slemmer, Secretary, and the Philadelphia advocate of colonization the speaker. As he proceeded with his discourse, he denounced the abolitionists, and was earnest in his praise of the colonization scheme, which was to do great things for the freed negroes. It was at once concluded to form a society, when Rev. Robert Adair, of the Presbyterian church, called a halt, and desired them not to proceed fast. He "was inclined to believe," he said, "that abolition societies were engaged in a most laudable work and that its claims for support ought to be heard. That, from what he knew of the colonization society, it was a scheme of slaveholders to get rid of their old, worn-out slaves, by sending them to Liberia; and not a sincere desire to abolish slavery." After he had discoursed on this subject there were no more efforts to form a colonization society. This attempt to form a society had the effect though to cause those present to earnestly consider the subject of abolition, and Mr. George Wright and other Baptist people had a lecturer, Stephen Foster, to hold a meeting in what was then called the "Baptist meeting house," and standing where the present one is, at the corner of Swede and Airy streets.

The State Anti-Slavery Society, learning that Norristown Baptists were somewhat favorable to abolition lecturers (as

they had seen them in the persons of Stephen Foster and the eloquent Abby Kelly, afterwards the wife of Mr. Foster), came to see some members of the church—Mr. Wright and Esquire Hancock, who by this time had become more favorable to abolition—and offered them fifty dollars per year for three years for the privilege of occasionally holding a meeting there, so that abolition lecturers could address the public. Upon considering the matter, the society agreed to it, and afterwards the abolitionists had meetings there. Frederick Douglass, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Charles Burleigh and Lucretia Mott, and other eloquent men and women addressed the people on different occasions.

At the noon recess of the very first meeting, Lucretia Mott, and the colored orator, Frederick Douglass (whom we all know now as one of the most honored men in Washington, who has held and now holds an important office there), walked arm in arm down to the house of a friend with whom they were to dine. It was just at the dinner hour of the employes of the mills, and they soon spread the news that a white woman had a colored man's arm, and walked the street with him. At the evening meeting they were on hand, about sixty of them, with stones in their hands to hurl against the windows and doors. A few were thrown through the windows, and vulgarity and profanity were heard in the street and by the assembly.

There was a riotous time until Esquire Hancock, who then was Burgess, came up and ordered them home, and the three Bodeys, tall, strong, courageous men, heard of it and hurried to the scene and scattered them in all directions. Men were not then armed as now. This, it is very likely, was the night that Isaac Roberts had been warned to leave his house for fear of attack, as described in the letter from his son, which appears elsewhere.

I have already made brief allusion to the fact that Rev. Nathan Stem, of the Episcopal Church, and that some members of the church left it and went to other places of worship. Samuel S. Smith's family went to Swede's Church, in Upper Merion, and never returned to the Norristown church. Adam

Stemmer and family also left the church; some going, my informant states, to the Presbyterian Church, and others to the German Reformed; but they, finally, returned to their first love, St. John's Episcopal Church, a short time before the death of Rev. Stem. The excitement among the congregation, a member informed me, was very intense for a time.

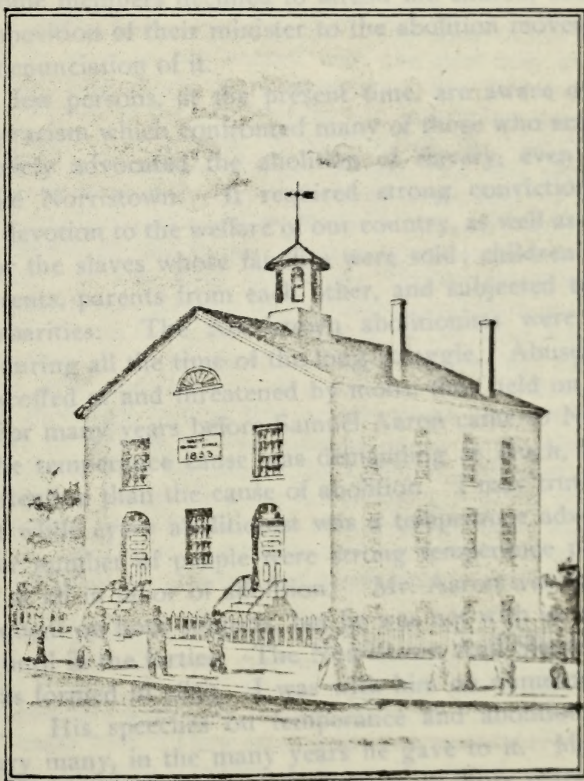
The situation here was the reverse of that at Pottstown. There, some members declined to attend the church, because of the opposition of their support to the abolition movement, and his renunciation of it.

But the persons at the present time, are aware of the social progress which has taken place, and many of those who actively and powerfully advocated the cause of slavery, even in a place like Norristown, are now strong convictions of duty, of devotion to the welfare of our country, as well as sympathy for the slaves whose freedom they have secured from their parents, parents, and subjected to untold hardships.

kindred, having all the same, and suffered from their wrongs, and in their way, for many years, and in the town, and more, and say that a great but not and city country, and society with occasions.

His speeches, in many, in the many years, in the public ones, to say nothing of the threats of violence and assault. Mr. Aaron, as is well remembered by many now living, was severely lashed, couched, by Dr. McCannaghan, because of one of his temperance speeches.

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OLD BAPTIST MEETING HOUSE, NORRISTOWN.

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The situation here was the reverse of that at Pottstown. There, some members declined to attend the church, because of the opposition of their minister to the abolition movement, and his denunciation of it.

But few persons, at the present time, are aware of the social ostracism which confronted many of those who actively and publicly advocated the abolition of slavery, even in a place like Norristown. It required strong convictions of duty, of devotion to the welfare of our country, as well as sympathy for the slaves whose families were sold; children from their parents, parents from each other, and subjected to untold barbarities. The Norristown abolitionists were very faithful during all the time of the long struggle. Abused, insulted, scoffed at and threatened by mobs, they held on their way. For many years before Samuel Aaron came to Norristown, the temperance cause was demanding as much, if not more, attention than the cause of abolition. I may truthfully say that while every abolitionist was a temperance advocate, a greater number of people were strong temperance people, but not at all in favor of abolition. Mr. Aaron was earnest and eloquent on both subjects, but he was not with us of this county until in the forties. The Norristown Anti-Slavery Society was formed in 1839. I was with him on numerous occasions. His speeches on temperance and abolition have been very many, in the many years he gave to it. My own public ones, to say nothing of discussions, in those years numbered about seventy, often delivered in the presence of threats of violence and assault. Mr. Aaron, as is well remembered by many now living, was severely lashed, cowhided, by Dr. McClennaghan, because of one of his temperance speeches.

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Mr. Aaron's meetings, in which danger to himself and the audience was imminent. He writes:

'About the time of the passage of the 'Fugitive Slave Law,' that iniquitous law which Charles Sumner described as 'an unutterable atrocity,' and which made it a crime to obey the golden rule, we lived in the farm-house, then on what is now Chestnut street, near Green street. The law referred to made little difference to those who were obeying the 'Higher Law of Conscience', and so slaves were harbored there and forwarded as before it was passed. But some of the neighbors near by were in full accord with the new law, and it was thought they might turn informers. The slaves who were there, hiding in the garret of the old farm-house, were warned by mother not to go near the window, lest the neighbors might see them. It seems strange, indeed, that this should have happened in that locality only forty years ago. I recall another incident told me by my mother. An anti-slavery meeting was held in the old Baptist Church, corner of Swede and Airy streets. It was then called the 'Baptist Meeting-House.' The pro-slavery element in Norristown was then quite strong, and, of course, included 'low fellows, of the baser sort.' They determined to break up the meeting by hooting, stoning the house, etc., and did so. My father usually attended all of these meetings, but on this occasion was not able to do so. About 10 o'clock he was aroused at his home, then only a block away from the church, by a friendly neighbor, who told him he had better leave the house and get out of the way, as the mob at the church were shouting his name and seemed bent on coming to the house and doing him harm. But father declined to go, and for some reason the mob did not come.

"My father was, during a long time, the intimate personal friend of Rev. Samuel Aaron, for several years the minister of the Baptist Church, whose eloquence and noble Christian character are still well remembered and cherished by those who knew him. They often attended anti-slavery and temperance meetings together, and I well remember mother telling me that on one occasion they drove a long distance to attend a meeting in a country church or school-house, and on their return mistook the road and returned by a different one. They learned afterwards that the mistake probably saved their lives or, at least, from a brutal attack, as some low fellows had determined to waylay them on their return, and had actually been waiting for them at a lonely point on the road which, by accident, they did not take.

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"About the time of the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, that infamous law which Charles Sumner described as 'an unmitigated atrocity,' and which made it a crime to obstruct an runaway slave, we lived in the farm-house, then on what is now Chestnut street, near Green street. The law referred to made little difference to those who were obeying the Higher Law of Conscience, and so slaves were harbored there and forwarded as before it was passed. But some of the neighbors near by were in full accord with the new law, and it was thought they might turn informers. The slaves who were there, hiding in the garret of the old farm-house, were warned by mother not to go near the window, lest the neighbors might see them. It seems strange, indeed, that this should have happened in that locality only forty years ago. I recall another incident told me by my mother. An anti-slavery meeting was held in the old Baptist Church, corner of Swede and Airy streets. It was then called the Baptist Meeting-house. The pro-slavery element in Northtown was then quite strong, and of course, included 'low fellows' of the baser sort. They determined to break up the meeting by boobying, stoning the house, etc., and did so. My father usually attended all of these meetings, but on this occasion was not able to do so. About 10 o'clock he was aroused at his home, then only a block away from the church, by a friendly neighbor who told him he had better leave the house and get out of the way, as the mob at the church were shouting his name and accused him of coming to the house and doing him harm. But father declined to go, and for some reason the mob did not come.

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"At the home of my parents, in Norristown, some of the most noted abolitionist leaders were entertained. Among them Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, the Burleighs, Abby and Stephen Foster, the Grimke sisters and others. It is pleasant to remember that in those days, when it was so unpopular to speak a word for the enslaved, or to extend to him a helping hand, that my parents were active in their efforts to help them, and also to entertain those whose words aroused the North to a sense of shame and guilt in tolerating slavery."

In confirmation of what has been written by Isaac Roberts about the reception and care of slaves by his parents, I will add here what has been reported to me by Robert R. Corson, my kinsman, who for some years lived in the home of Isaac Roberts, Senior, who was then a merchant in Norristown. "The slave woman and her children were kept there several days, hidden in a room next to mine. At that time there was much anxiety with abolitionists and fugitives, as the Fugitive Slave Law had just been enacted, and the pro-slavery people were on the watch to find who were helping the slaves to escape. On that account we all kept the fact that runaways were there from being known, and waited for a chance to take them further. After a few days I took them, after night, to Uncle George Corson's, who afterward went with us on to Bucks county. Some two or three years before that time, when I was living with Uncle George Corson, we did not feel that we had need to be so careful about helping the fugitives, as the excitement was not then so intense, nor slave-hunters so bold as after that infamous slave bill was passed by Congress and signed by President Fillmore. While at Uncle George's a slave would knock at the door after dark, be taken in and cared for till next day in the evening, when he would be taken on to Bucks county. At that time our first, great duty was to secure their escape from the slave-hunters, so kept no account of the number of escapes and their history. Sometimes two or three men would come together—at other times women and children, or a man and wife. All were received and well cared for." Though restricted to our county, it seems necessary to refer to cases in which the flight of the fugitives had the assistance of our people. The Gorsuch mur-

der case, so called, is one of them, and comes properly with the doings of the Norristown group.

THE GORSUCH MURDER CASE.

After the enactment of the Fugitive Slave bill into law, with its severe penalties to be inflicted on any Northern man or woman who would resist or interfere against the arrest of any man seizing his reputed slave and taking him back into slavery, the slave-catchers were very bold, and numerous seizures were made. When there was resistance against the arrest, peaceable people who took no part in it, but were present, were in some cases imprisoned for months. So severe was the law that if any person called upon by the slave-catcher to aid him refused to do it, the penalty was one thousand dollars (\$1000) fine, and imprisonment not exceeding six months. It was not, therefore, strange that slave-catchers came boldly into Pennsylvania to take the fugitives back. A case occurred in Lancaster county, in which the slave-owner was killed and his son badly wounded.

It produced great excitement throughout both North and South, and was known as the "Gorsuch Murder Case." I am justified in noticing it here, because our abolitionists here acted a part in the sequel of it. Edward Gorsuch, his son and his nephew, of Maryland, with a notorious slave-catcher, in Philadelphia, made an attack on the house of Gorsuch's runaway slave, on the early morning of September 11th, 1851, just a year after the slave bill had become law. As the slaves and others had been apprised a day or two before of the danger, they were ready for them, and in the struggle that took place old Gorsuch was shot dead, and his son wounded, and both parties that were left fled. Next day the newspapers teemed with accounts of the case and the flight of Parker, the slave, who, it was stated, had murdered his master. He was, too, reported as hiding in the Jersey pines, or in the mountains of Pennsylvania, etc., etc., but all the two or three weeks while he was being hunted, he was quietly concealed in the house of a colored abolitionist, a former slave, in Norristown.

In two or three weeks the excitement about the death of the slave-owner was much allayed; so much, indeed, that the fugitive ventured a trip to Philadelphia in the cars, it was said, and returned safely. His hiding place in Norristown was, of course, at "Old Dan's," where more slaves were sheltered than in any other place in our county. Once it was reported to us that sixteen were housed and fed there on a single occasion. The abolitionists of Norristown and vicinity had, of necessity, to aid Dan and his wife in this work.

I was one evening standing on the pavement in front of brother William's office, when a very light touch on my shoulder caused me to look round and be face to face with Dan. In a low voice he said, "We want money; Dr. William give me some. So did Isaac Roberts and Jake Bodey and 'Larry,'" meaning Laurence Corson, son of Alan W. "We want it to pay for a carriage to take *him* to Bucks county."

Him meant the fugitive who, though charged with the murder, solemnly declared that it occurred in the struggle to get away from Gorsuch, and while the pistol was yet in his hand, but was afterwards dropped from it, when he was accidentally shot. After giving my contribution to Dan I left for home. At 10 p. m., in that beautiful moonlight night, a few persons were, by appointment, on the common, about where the old basin was afterwards built, at DeKalb and Basin streets, when a carriage drove up to take the fugitives to an underground railroad station. Isaac Roberts, Jacob Hoffman, Larry Corson and, I think, Lloyd Jones were present. Old Dan and the fugitive were, too, promptly on hand. As he was parting from them, Larry said to him: "Now, don't be taken alive." He drew from some place in his clothes a pistol and merely said, "that was Gorsuch's." All felt that enough had been said.

A moment more and he was in the carriage en route to the designated underground station on his way to Canada, assured that when his feet should press the soil of Canada, a land that owes allegiance to the Queen of England he would (in accordance with the declaration long ago made, "that slaves cannot breathe in England") be a free man.

UPPER MERION ABOLITIONISTS.

This group, if group so few can be called, consisted of Jonathan Roberts and wife, of whom I have already spoken elsewhere, their four sons and their only daughter, Mrs. Sarah Tyson; William Jones and his wife, Rachel, and the two sons of William (by a former marriage), John and Rowland; the family of Rees Thomas, of the Gulf, his son, William B. Thomas, who was an active member of our society in its very first year and as long as he lived, and his four daughters, who were all active in the cause, annually bringing the work of their hands as contributions, to be sold at the fair of the anti-slavery society, held every year in Philadelphia, to swell the funds of the society, and to be used to continue the crusade against slavery.

To the names of these few I may add that of Mr. Mordecai Moore, nephew of Jonathan Roberts; also Thomas Read and family, who resided for a while in that township, but who, like Mr. Moore, took part with the Norristown group on many occasions, as well as did the Robertses, and all of them might be added to that group, were it not that Upper Merion well deserved a group of its own fearless and ardent advocates for the right, so ardently did they labor in the cause, wherever and in whatever way they could be useful. But even in this band of conspicuous workers Mrs. Eliza Roberts, the wife of Jonathan, held a most conspicuous place. Well do I remember how our sympathies were aroused when, in a public meeting, she recited the case of a poor slave mother, who, with her four children, were about to be sold; and how she plead for help to rescue them from the block of the slave auctioneer, ready to sell them to a life of bondage, separated for all time from each other. As I have, through the half century that has since passed, shared the common fate of old people—forgetfulness—I requested Mrs. Tyson to write me a brief account of the successful efforts of her mother to rescue them from the horrible fate which was threatening them. This she has kindly done in the following letter to me:

"In 1847, Mrs. Eliza H. Roberts visited friends in Virginia, the home of her early life and one much cherished by

her, had the blast of slavery, with all its environments and heart-rending appeals been extinguished from her soil. It was her misfortune to find among her friends the sad, sad story of accumulated debt, to such an extent that the poor, suffering slave was the first to answer to the auctioneer's hammer. One little girl was to be the first victim. With harrowed feelings, they sought to find a remedy. No response came to her but to pay the price and bring her to Pennsylvania, where she could be reared under the influence of freedom; otherwise her fate would have been to be sold to the far South and separated from all that was dear to her. The shadow of this unjust system still haunted the household, and more victims were threatened with the auction block. The next was the mother of the little girl, a woman of 35 years. Letters poured in beseeching Mrs. Roberts to again put forth her hand and advance the money, and she would willingly serve her until the debt should be cancelled. She had other children; two daughters, old enough to be serviceable, and two little sons. She entreated for the deliverance of all. An appeal was made to the anti-slavery society of Philadelphia to know if any funds could be obtained for their relief; but the answer came "They could not take isolated cases, their work was for the removal of the evil." The anguished-stricken mother was almost crazed with grief, and rather than be separated from her children, determined to sever her hand from her body, that she might be condemned and no longer saleable. The good angel of mercy came to her relief, and hope delayed her resolve. Mrs. Roberts consented to advance the money for the mother and the two daughters. She determined to appeal to the philanthropic hearts of the people, and found a sympathetic response, and, within the limits of this county, was enabled to make up the sum of \$300, the price asked for the two boys, she advancing \$1250 for the female portion of the family. The kind co-operation of Mr. George Corson, of Plymouth, who was ever ready to extend the cup of cold water to suffering humanity, materially aided, by calling a meeting near his house, where the case was stated and a most encouraging sum collected. The arrival of the happy family in a land of freedom can scarcely be described. They remained some time with Mrs. Roberts, but eventually settled in Norristown, where the remaining descendants still live. It is meet to say that Emma Jackson, though blind for 15 years, never was known to murmur, but calmly submitted herself with a most trustful spirit to her misfortune. The youngest son fell at Petersburg and the daugh-

ters were victims to consumption. She died at the advanced age of 82 years, respected by all who knew her."

Here we have the authentic record (not a mere tradition), by one who was a living witness of the anxiety and trials of Mrs. Roberts in her successful efforts to rescue a family from lives of great suffering—a noble work that brought to the donor the gratitude of the rescued, and the respect of all who knew the noble woman who was the benefactor of the oppressed.

LOWER MERION ABOLITIONISTS.

Of these there was only one family (the Bowman family) whom I knew. Dr. Joseph Anderson, of Ardmore, of whom I sought information, says he never heard of any other, though he has lived in the township all his life. So earnest and devoted were they that "they almost impoverished themselves," he said. This, though, applies specially to Miss Mary and her sister, Mrs. Wainwright, and her brother, Joshua. Their brothers Henry and John had married and left the township before the excitement was great in this county. The Bowman home was on the Lancaster road, now Montgomery avenue, one mile below the Friends' Meeting-House. The parents of those mentioned were Friends and faithful adherents to and observers of the principles of the sect, as were also their children. Miss Mary was specially recognized as a free giver to the cause.

The old home is now the country home of Col. Wendell Phillips Bowman, son of John. His name is significant of the feeling of his parents.

How it was that in Merion Friends' meeting, at that time one composed of many wealthy and influential Friends, there was not a single one else active in the crusade against slavery I must leave for others to answer. But, in my mind, that one brave family takes rank with martyrs.

THE PLYMOUTH GROUP.

The earliest and only abolitionists in Plymouth and Whitemarsh townships were Samuel Maulsby, Joseph Corson and Alan W. Corson. Away back before 1820 they had been stirred by the scathing denunciations of slavery, and the horrors of the slave trade, made by Granville Sharp, William Wilberforce and Thomas Fouell Buxton, before the Parliament of Great Britain, to an intense hatred of slavery and the slave trade, and the abominations of slavery in our own county. They were, too, among the very earliest subscribers to the "Genius of Universal Emancipation," published by Benjamin Lundy, in Baltimore, in the twenties, and to the fiery "Liberator" of Wm. Lloyd Garrison, when he announced it at Boston, in 1831. We may, therefore, claim them as leaders and originators of our group, though the first two were so advanced in years that they did not attend our meetings, but cheered and urged us to continue our work. As our group was made up almost entirely of Corsons, and it is seldom that any large family can be found among abolitionists, every member of which was willing to stand by the side of Lundy and Garrison in their crusade against slavery, and were of one mind and strongly determined to support this unpopular, despised cause, that I hope to be pardoned for a brief notice of them and their labors. The members of Joseph Corson's family were:

1. Alan W. Corson (and let me add right here his four sons, Elias Hicks, Laurence E., Luke and Dr. Joseph, and two daughters, Hannah Ritchie and Sarah Garretson, all in 1830 of adult age, and warm in the cause).
2. Mary Adamson, wife of Charles Adamson (her two sons and two daughters, ardent and fearless in support of the cause).
3. Sarah Read, wife of Thomas Read, of Upper Merion, and their two sons and four daughters, were in unity with the views of their parents, and ever ready for the work.
4. Joseph D., away from our county, but bold in advocacy of the right.

5. Charles, earnest, convinced, vigilant to protect the fugitive; not shrinking before pro-slavery revilers, led to the work his sons and daughters.

6. George, who knew no fear when in the right.

7. Hiram, the writer of this sketch, who did what his hands found to do.

8. Dr. William, who, in Norristown, feared not the name of abolitionist.

Of all these families, all the children were with their parents in this great cause. None shrank from the odium attached to the name; all worked for its success.

As we can't count all these in one group, let me say Mary Corson Adamson and children belonged to the Phoenixville abolitionists, Sarah Corson Read and children to Upper Merion, Charles Corson and adult children to Upper Providence, Dr William Corson to Norristown.

The Plymouth group was composed of Alan W. Corson and wife, their son, Elias H. Corson, and daughter Sarah Corson Garretson. George Corson and wife, Martha Maulsby Corson, myself and wife Ann Foulke Corson, Jonathan Adamson, Nathan Lewis, his son John Lewis, John Wilson and daughter, Susan (the poetess). How few of us, and yet what a commotion was raised because of our efforts to advocate freedom for the slave!

Runaways came to Alan and myself to be sheltered and helped along towards Canada, and we and our wives were ever ready to comfort and aid them, but the greater burden of the work was born by George and his wife, Martha Maulsby Corson. Their residence in the old Maulsby home, right in front of the Friends' Plymouth Meeting-House, was so prominent a place, known by everybody for miles around, made it easy for slaves to find the place, when sent by those from a distance to "George Corson's, at Plymouth Meeting." By reason of this, many more came to them than to Alan's, or to my home. But, in addition to being thus a station for the many fugitives, their house was the *home*, I may say, of all the lecturers and great orators from other places, when in our county, addressing large audiences. Here it was, too, that the Burleighs,

McKim, Douglass, Lundy, Stephen Foster, Abby Kelly, Mary Grew, Lucretia Mott, Edward M. Davis and others were entertained. It was by George and his family that places to hold meetings were procured. He it was who forwarded fugitives to Mahlon Linton, at Newtown, or to William H. Johnson, at Buckingham, or to Richard Moore, at Quakertown, Bucks county, time after time, during the whole period of the great struggle from 1830 to 1850.

I hope it will be considered neither indelicate nor obtrusive, nor out of place here, by one who knows of the long and faithful labors of George Corson and his wife, to quote what another has written concerning them; but, whether or not, I cannot close this part of my paper without joining in that tribute of respect to my brother, George Corson, given by William Still, in his history of the underground railroad—a tribute both truthful and deserved, for no one bore the burden of those thirty years of warfare against the system of slavery more bravely than did George Corson and his wife, Martha Maulsby Corson. William Still wrote:

“There were, perhaps, few more devoted men than George Corson to the interests of the oppressed anywhere. The slave, fleeing from his master, ever found a home with him, and felt, while there, that no slave-hunter would get him away until every means of protection should fail. He was ever ready to send his horses and carriage to convey them on the road to Canada or elsewhere towards freedom. His home was always open to entertain the anti-slavery advocates, and being warmly supported by his excellent wife, everything which they could do to make their guests comfortable was done. The Burleighs, J. Miller McKim, Miss Mary Grew, Frederick Douglass and others will not soon forget that hospitable home. It is to be regretted that he died before the emancipation of the slaves, which he had so long labored for, arrived. In this connection it may not be improper to state that simultaneously with his labors in the anti-slavery cause he was also laboring with zeal in the cause of temperance. Of his efforts in that direction through nearly thirty years our space will not allow us to speak. His life was a daily protest against the rum traffic. There is another phase of his character which should be mentioned. Whenever he saw animals abused, horses beaten, he instantly interfered, often at great

risk of personal harm from the brutal drivers about the lime quarries and iron ore diggings. So firm, so determined was he, that the cruelest ruffian felt that he must yield or confront the law. Take him all for all, there will rarely be found in one man more universal benevolence and justice than was possessed by the subject of this notice."

UPPER DUBLIN AND HORSHAM.

Wilmer Atkinson, editor of the "Farm Journal," writes that his father and mother, Thomas and Hannah Atkinson, were ardent abolitionists from the time they were married, in 1836 (a fact well known to us at Plymouth Meeting, who were always on the watch for accessions to our ranks in other parts of the county), "and that they helped to get away some fugitive slaves on the underground railroad, and were steady contributors to the anti-slavery fairs in Philadelphia, and regularly attended them and also all the abolition meetings within reach, often entertaining speakers and assisting in getting up local meetings.

"The group of which they were a part consisted of Thomas and Mary B. Lightfoot, Charles and Agnes C. Paxson and Marianne C. Comly, all of Upper Dublin. John and Martha Shoemaker, especially the latter, warmly favored the cause, but did not take an active part.

"I remember seeing my father start off, early one morning, in a two-seated sleigh, with a fleeing slave on the back seat, going along to Bucks county. Who brought the fugitive to our home I do not remember, but think it was Thomas Lightfoot. This was after 1850. I have mentioned all of the early abolitionists of Upper Dublin, unless Isaac Conard, son of Cornelius, may be added to the list. I think there were no arrests of slaves in Upper Dublin."

After writing the above a correspondent from Upper Dublin sends me the additional names of Rebecca Pickering, Spencer Thomas, Cornelius Conard, Atkinson Hughes and wife, Jonah Potts and Joseph Conard. But, as another person now seventy years of age, and all these years a resident of Upper Dublin, who never heard of any of them—except Spencer

Thomas—spoken of as abolitionists, I will not include them; and may add, that even the others were not in the work till 1850, or thereabout.

THE HORSHAM CASE.

I well remember that about seventy years ago, in 1822, much excitement was caused by the arrest of a runaway slave at the home of one of the Kenderdines, but the details having escaped from my mind I sought information by letter from many persons in Hatboro and vicinity and got what seemed to be a pretty authentic account of the arrest and its sequences from Mrs. Dr. I. N. Evans, Mrs. Harriet Kirk, Jon. Roberts Mather and others, and was about to close up my history of the case, when I was referred by a friend to a published account of the case in the Norristown "Herald," of May 29, 1833, from the pen of one of the parties mulcted in damages for their interference. It is as follows:

IMPORTANT TRIAL.

Having received through the favor of a friend several newspapers containing articles purporting to be an account of a trial which took place between the 29th of April and the 7th of May last (1833), in the Circuit Court of the United States, at Philadelphia, in a suit brought by Caleb Johnson and others, against Issachar Kenderdine and others, which is wholly calculated to mislead the public; in consequence of the publication in the "Pennsylvanian" and other papers above alluded to; through a sense of duty that I owe to my friends and the public in general, I shall endeavor to give a correct and full statement of the affair, so far as personal knowledge, with official documents will enable me.

This action grew out of a criminal case tried at Norristown, January term, 1823, against Caleb Johnson, Ralph Johnson, Phineas Withington, John Skillman and William Higgins, indicted for kidnapping. The particulars are as follows:

"About the 20th of October, 1822, the above-named persons came in to the late residence of Joseph Kenderdine, who had deceased about one month prior to this time, between seven and eight o'clock in the evening, and after they had by false pretensions intruded themselves into the house, two of them seized a black man who was there and forcibly took him

out, at the same time using threats to those about him. When they had got him out they handcuffed him, put him in a Dearborn wagon, and were preparing to move when Issachar Kenderdine told them that they should go before a Judge and show their authority, to which they replied they had authority enough, and told him to stand off or they would blow him through, when they drove off at a rapid speed. This having caused considerable alarm several persons followed them for about two miles before they overtook them, and requested them to stop, but they answered them by threats, and drove rapidly on until they came to the Billet (Hatboro), when finding they could not escape they drove up to Marple's tavern, where a crowd soon collected.

"In a short time information came from Judge M'Neill that they must come before him, which they appeared very unwilling to do, but at length went, taking the black with them.

"When they had arrived at the Judge's one of them stepped forward and stated that the black man was his slave, upon which the Judge inquired whether he had any proof thereof, when he produced a receipt from Pierce Ranley for three hundred dollars for a black man named John, without any further description. The Judge asked for a bill of sale, but he replied that he had none. The Judge said as it did not identify him, they might take any black by that name; that they should be secured for a further examination, and proceeded to read to them the act of Congress relative to kidnapping, after which he inquired for an Esquire and a Constable; the former he instructed to take charge of them, and the latter to call assistance and keep them until the next day, and have them before the Esquire next day at 10 o'clock, which was done. After an examination of several witnesses against them, he was about writing their commitment to jail, when they requested more time till they could get bail, and the Constable passed his word that he would be forthcoming for them till the next day at the same hour, when they entered bail for \$6000 for their appearance at the next Court of Quarter Sessions to be held at Norristown. The first term the trial was put off by the prosecuting attorney, without assigning any reason. In January term, 1823, it was called up and proceeded to trial before Judge Koss, President, Hiram M'Neill and Richard B. Jones, Associates, when the State's attorney opened the cause for the Commonwealth and examined a number of witnesses, tending to prove in what manner the defendants had acted, and to invalidate their claims to the black. On the part of the de-

fendants they endeavored through their friends to justify themselves in their conduct, and establish their claim to the black. The attorney for the prosecution contended that it was a high-handed act, and came immediately under the act of Congress of 1820 relative to kidnapping, which imposed a punishment at hard labor from seven to twenty-one years and fine from \$500 to \$2000. Those for the defendants maintained that he was their slave and that they did not intend to run him out of the state without proving him, for which it would be hard they should be confined for the space of twenty-one years.

"Judge Ross charged the jury at considerable length, in which he stated his doubts as to the slavery of the black, but as there was contradictory evidence, he advised them to err on the side of mercy. This being Saturday afternoon, he ordered the black to jail until court called on Monday morning to have a further hearing, when the jury retired for the space of about six hours and returned a verdict of not guilty.

"Prior to the arrival of Judges Ross and M'Neill at Norristown, on Monday morning, the claimants found means to get the black out of jail and took him before Judge Jones, who gave them a pass to take him out of the state.

Shortly afterwards writs were served on Isaac Tomkins, Esquire, John Kenderdine, Issachar Kenderdine, Justinian Kenderdine, John Iredell, Thomas Kenderdine, John E. Kenderdine, Robert Kenderdine, Henry Sandman, Thomas Iredell, Samuel Gray and Jacob Tomkins, most of whom had been examined as witnesses on behalf of the commonwealth, to appear before Circuit Court of the United States for the Pennsylvania district, at October term, 1823, to answer the charges brought against them by Caleb Johnson, Ralph Johnson and John Skillman, wherein they claimed damages of \$10,000 each, besides writs against seven of the same defendants in the District Court of the United States, to appear at May term in the same year, for the penalty of \$500 each, for harboring and attempting to rescue a slave.

The suits were called before the court the 16th of May, 1825. After several postponements during that term, they were suffered to slumber until the year 1832, when we received notice from our attorneys that the plaintiff intended to bring on the cause in the Circuit Court in October, when preparations were made to meet them. But, owing to the sudden indisposition of one of our witnesses, we thought best to postpone it for that term. On the 7th of April, 1833, the cause was brought on before Judges Baldwin and Hopkinson, when

the following named jury were called: 1st, Jedediah Allen; 2, Samuel Hayes; 3, Robert Donnell; 4, Reuben Etting; 5, James M'Alpine; 6, Jacob Strembeck; 7, George Rees; 8, Aaron Clement; 9, William E. Lehman; 10, Hugh Colhoun; 11, George Gorgas; 12, Henry Lentz; who being duly sworn and affirmed, Thomas Kittera, for plaintiff, opened the cause, and proceeded to examine the witnesses by calling Ralph Johnson, sworn. I am brother to Caleb Johnson, plaintiff, and live near Princeton, N. J.

Some time in October, 1822, about the 15th or 20th, I came to Pennsylvania with Phineas Withington, John Skillman and Caleb Johnson, through Trenton, crossed the bridge and came to the Billet; stopped at Marple's tavern; we were in a dearborn wagon; we inquired for Mr. Kenderdine's. Marple wished to know our business; when we told him we were in pursuit of a black man that was there. We left our great coats, spoke supper and lodging, and went to Kenderdine's, about two or three miles. Withington, Caleb and Skillman went to the house, while I stayed with the wagon, and brought the black. I did not see them get him; we saw Issachar Kenderdine and had some conversation with him, and were returning, when we were beset by a number of people who threw stones at us and threatened to stop us in the road; does not know who. After arriving at Marple's we were beset by a number of people, where Issachar Kenderdine told us that we should go to Judge McNeill's, if not willingly, we should by force; when I went with Withington on foot and think Caleb went in the wagon. Issachar and John Kenderdine and 20 to 30 people were along; when we had got to the Judge's he asked if the man belonged to the plaintiff. I said he did; that Ranley told me he had sold him to my brother, and he lived with him and that was all I knew about it; Mr. Roney was said to be constable of that place; he was ordered to take charge of us by somebody; when we came back from M'Neill's we were kept up all night and not allowed a bed, and kept by the Mr. Kenderdines and a number of others, total strangers to me; for two or three days by a number of men, and told us we should not go; the second night Mr. Roney showed us up stairs to a room and he went out and locked the doors; Caleb Johnson, John Skillman and myself; Withington was not there; we were now put in prison; we sent to some of our friends for security, and were tried in Norristown in 1822 or 1823, when the black came home with us.

List of defendants shown to witness. I think I should know some of their faces, though I cannot recall their names;

I recollect Esquire Tomkins, John E. Kenderdine; I think Justinian Kenderdine and Thomas Kenderdine was there; points out John Iredell; I had occasion to go out and went in his custody.

Cross-examined. Does not recollect that Issachar Kenderdine asked me to go to M'Neill's; he rode up to head of horses, when Withington said if you do I will blow you through; I had a pistol in my pocket; some others had pistols; did not see the bill of sale; I think the black went with us to Judge M'Neill's and had irons on; cannot tell who threw stones; I do not know that I could point out John Kenderdine; there were some whites and some blacks in company; I think it likely we requested to be kept at the Billet, as I should prefer it to going to jail; Mr. Roney was authorized to take us in charge and had the commitment; the black was here last October as a witness for my brother, but does not know why he is not here now; our arms were taken from us by constable from the Judge's order; I believe Caleb had one pistol: I believe there was a black man with us from the Billet to show us the way to Kenderdine's; it was after dark; I loaded my pistol that day in Jersey; I think my brother told me that Withington and Skillman went into the house and did not know Kenderdine before, or he him.

Mr. Kittera reads records of indictment, etc., for kidnapping. Bail taken before Esquire Tomkins, 21st of October, 1822, on the charge of kidnapping.

Silas Roney—I am constable of Moreland township; I came home from meeting about seven o'clock at night, when I saw a number of horses standing at the tavern next to my house and went there, when they were just about starting to go to Judge M'Neill's, and followed after, which was about 1½ miles across the fields; was not there long before Judge called to Esquire Tomkins to send for a constable to take charge of the men, when I was called up and ordered to take charge of them, and take them to the Billet till next morning at 10 o'clock, and have them before the Esquire. I asked the Judge whether it was not proper to inquire for arms, when two of them gave up three pistols and said they were charged; before I left the Judge's office I commanded Issachar Kenderdine, Jacob Tomkins and Henry Sandman to assist me; about 11 or 12 o'clock that night Caleb and Ralph Johnson proposed to manumit the black and satisfy the parties, providing they could get off, when Issachar Kenderdine sent for his nephew, John Kenderdine, who would not come, and shortly after Withington gave us the slip; next morning I took the

other three before Esq. Tomkins as directed by the Judge, on which the Esquire inquired whether they had bail, when they stated they had not for want of time; when the Esquire said he would have to commit them to jail and wrote a few lines when I said I would be forthcoming for them until 10 o'clock the next day, and called John Kenderdine to assist me that day and night, and returned back to the Billet; in the evening the prisoners wished to retire and I showed them upstairs to a room which fastened on the inside and left them there; the next morning I took them before Esq. Tomkins and they gave bail.

Cross-examined. I saw no violence or threats offered to any of those men. I have rode 184 miles serving subpoenas for them and attended court in 1825, for which I have been amply paid.

April 30, 1833.

Dr. John H. Hill—Some time in the fall of 1822 or 1823, in the month of October, on Sunday afternoon, I learned that some persons had come from New Jersey after a black and had gone to Horsham after him; I remained at home until 7 or 8 o'clock at night, when they returned; immediately after a number of horsemen rode up; shortly after I was called to examine Caleb Johnson's head, which he alleged had been struck by a stone, and found some blood issuing from his ear, but there was no external wound; after this John Kenderdine came from Judge M'Neill's, where he stated he had been for advice, and that the Judge said they must come before him, and if they would not come peaceably to bring them by force, but they wished to stay till morning, when they would go before the Judge, but were assured that they must go that night; when the Jerseyman requested me to go with them, when I told them that there was no danger in going, as no one would hurt them, at their ardent request I went with them in the wagon, there was very little effort made to do anything, the Judge ordered the Constable to take them in custody, and take them before Esq. Tomkins; it being recommended to search them for fire arms they gave them up and I returned with them to the Billet and left them in custody of the constable. (Here a list of the defendants were handed to the witness to know which of them was at the Billet before they went to the Judge's. From which he recollects John Kenderdine, Issachar Kenderdine and Jacob Tomkins, with whom he conversed on the subject.) I suggested to the Jerseymen that it would be prudent for them to endeavor to make the matter up, and drew an instrument of writing to manumit the black,

when Issachar was sent to consult John on this subject, who refused to take any part in it; they were there till Wednesday or Tuesday morning, kept as prisoners by the Constable; they said they did not intend to take the black away without proving him; the reasons John Kenderdine assigned for not acceding to their propositions were that Judge M'Neill advised him not; no objection to them riding to the Judge. I think there were papers shown before Judge; I think one was a bill of sale of the black to Mr. Johnson; during the time I first saw them until they left the Judge's, the black was in possession of the Jersey men and not the defendants, and that the black had always passed for a free man.

Cross-examined. I think they went to the Judge's on my saying that they had a right to take them and they better go; there was no violence used by defendants, either at the tavern or on the road to the Judge's nor at any other period of time; I think I heard they had gone to Horsham by Marple. (Here the witness was examined as to the circumstances of the defendants.)

Isaac Marple—The Jersey men came to my house a short time before sunset, and took out their horses and ordered supper and lodging, but in a few minutes I saw them bring their horses out again and hitch them to the wagon, when I informed them that supper would soon be ready, they told me they were going after a black, and should be back in an hour; they came back when Dr Hill and I was standing on the piazza; I heard them when they were a $\frac{1}{2}$ mile off; they drove up with the black and in a few minutes Issachar Kenderdine came, and shortly after the house was full; as I was standing at the bar about twenty or thirty minutes after, John Kenderdine came, and the Jersey men got frightened and told me they would go before an Esquire or a Judge and prove the black; Judge M'Neill was mentioned; went to the wagon and found one of the traces cut, which I mended, and they proceeded; I walked over but does not know who went in the wagon; at the Judge's they were put in care of the constable and brought back to my house, and kept that night; on their return from Judge M'Neill's they wished to go to bed, when John Kenderdine said they should not go upstairs to bed, but be put in a room; I brought something for them to lay on but do not know whether it was a bed or not; next morning they went to Esq. Tomkins and returned back again; about four o'clock that afternoon I started to Newtown to hunt bail for them; and returned that night; their bail came next morning and they went to the Esquire which was near Horsham meeting, one

mile from Judge M'Neill (shown a list of defendants but does not recollect any of them except Issachar Kenderdine and John Kenderdine) on return from the Judge's I saw both of them.

Phineas Withington—On Sunday morning after breakfast we started from Kingston and got together at Caleb Johnson's, near Princeton; crossed at Green's ferry or the bridge, came by Newtown to the Billet; bespoke our supper and lodging when we learned that the black was at Kenderdines; hitched our horses and drove there; left the wagon some distance from the house with Ralph Johnson and walked to the house; Caleb Johnson, John Skillman and myself. Caleb guarded the back kitchen door while Skillman and I went to the front: we knocked at the door and were bid to come in, I stated that our horse had fallen down and got hurt and wished assistance, there was a black man and white man in the house, the woman told the black to assist us, when he rose to assist I seized him by one arm, stating that it was him we wanted, and there was nothing the matter with our horses and that he must go along with us; Caleb came around and we took him to the wagon: after we were in we drove to the house and asked for his clothes; they said they would get them but did not seem to hurry; they were alone with the Irishman; in a short time we drove off and were soon overtaken by Issachar Kenderdine on horseback; when we had stopped to hook our traces he asked what we wanted, said something about the black, and then rode on; near Horsham meeting we saw him again when he rode near us and said we had better go along; near Horsham some persons cried "Stop them," near 20, some females; Issachar Kenderdine was on the off side, some others on the near, did not know who; I called out sharply to him to keep off or I would shoot him; no one touched us, but had not proceeded far before I heard a report like a pistol behind me and were again overtaken by some persons, not Kenderdines, but could not tell who; we told them we would go before any Esquire and give satisfaction to them, when they said we had better go now, which we declined; when we got to the Billet we were surrounded by fifty people, who wished to tear us up and eat us; I knew Dr. Hill; there was a deal of confusion in the house, but finally we went to the Judge's, where some questions were asked as to papers; produced a receipt, but does not know there was a bill of sale; Judge said they were insufficient to prove property, and ordered constable to take us into custody, which he did, and took us to the Billet; there were no witnesses examined at Judge M'Neill's, on oath or

affirmation; Dr. Hill proposed a compromise, when we had some conversation with the parties present, who appeared willing, and Dr. Hill drew up a manumission for the black, when we sent for John, but he would not consent, and as I did not want to be locked up, as they asked \$8000 bail, so I gave them leg-bail about three o'clock, and went to Mr. McCalla's, where I stayed till next evening, when they took me to the city in a gig, where I procured Mr. Herbert and Mr. M'Ilvain to attend to them, and made the best of my way to Jersey.

Cross-examined. It may be that I furnished the irons; they were put on by the side of the wagon or in it; I had one pistol, Skillman had two, and Johnson one; we took them to defend ourselves, thinking we might be molested; there was about twenty persons present when stones was thrown—men, women and children; Issachar I think could not, for he was on horseback; does not know who cut the trace; does not know that either of the defendants laid a finger on any of our party at any time; about two or three weeks before I was in the neighborhood in company with Skillman after another black, and took him without going before any authority, and had irons at that time.

John Joline—I know the handwriting of Joseph Stout; it is his, who is dead; does not know Henry Cruiser's, but this is Pierce Ranley's; he is also dead.

John Skillman—I was with Mr. Johnson when he got his black from Mr. or Mrs. Kenderdine's; we stopped at Marple's in our wagon, and left our coats and spoke supper; at Kenderdine's Withington and I went into the house and there was a young woman there; the black came out with us on his own accord and there was no arms used; we went back to the house and then to Marple's; we were attacked several times with clubs and stones till our horses kicked out of the gears; Issachar Kenderdine attempted to catch our horses at one time; when we got to the Billet they cut our harness; they attempted to whip, thump or drub us; John Kenderdine said that he would whip the concern; at Marple's Mr. Kenderdine would not allow us a bed to sleep on, after that we were taken by the concern, at least 50, to Judge M'Neill's or Ross's as prisoners; there was no one sworn or affirmed before the Judge; papers were shown and I told him that I knew Mr. Johnson and his black; we were taken to the Billet and kept in custody until we got bail—here witness was shown a list of defendants. The first night I saw Issachar Kenderdine, John Kenderdine, John E. Kenderdine, Justinian Kenderdine and I think Isaac Tomkins, Esq., and some more; I was be-

fore Esq. Tomkins but there was no one examined either on oath or affirmation; we had to deliver up our arms.

Cross-examined. I had a pair of pistols when I went to Kenderdine's, loaded with ball in each, and Ralph and Withington had; Withington stated that our horses had failed; I saw the first man that took hold of the black; he had got up to get the lanthorn when I seized him; I cannot say who attacked us with clubs or does not know who cut the traces; they threatened to tie us up but did not touch us; we got in the wagon ourselves; John said he would whip the concern and Issachar threatened to tie Ralph, but did not attempt to whip or tie us; John guarded us when we went down and we did not get any sleep for two nights; I got plenty to eat and drink; I was in the bar and got something to drink.

Thomas Berrian—I live in Middlesex county, New Jersey, at Rockhill; the black was born in the family of my father, Judge John Berrian; his mother was a slave; my father was dead when he was born: he belonged to the estate; my mother was sole executrix; I took him as of my share of the estate at 20 dollars, when about ten or fourteen months old; this was in 1792; I took him and sold to Pierce Ranley in 1807 (looks at paper); this is my handwriting; the bill of sale was executed the time it bears date; this is the handwriting of Henry Cruiser, who is dead; identifies receipt for payment of money; was at the Norristown trial; I have been with you at every trial; the black is at Princeton. Kittera reads a bill of sale from Thomas Berrian to Pierce Ranley, dated 14th of August, 1807, for a black man named John, about 17 years of age.

November 3d, 1807, a receipt from Pierce Ranley to Caleb Johnson to the amount of 300 dollars, for a black man named John, about 17 years of age.

January 20th, 1823, a certificate from Richard B. Jones, an Associate Judge, authorizing Caleb Johnson to take John.

April 21st, 1772, the will of Judge John Berrian, setting forth that his widow was to have the rights and profits of his estate for which no one should call her to an account, and to be his sole executrix.

May 1st, 1833.

William Rawle, Jr., for defendant, commenced by calling Judge Hiram M'Neill—On Sunday evening in the latter end of October, 1822, a number of persons came to my house with a black man in custody and in irons; I asked who were claimants when Caleb Johnson stepped forward and said he was; I asked him for his evidence when either Caleb or Ralph Johnson presented two papers purporting to be receipts for

money paid; I asked for a bill of sale; they said they had none or never had; I told them that the receipts were no proof of a claim of that kind as there was no description of the black; turning to him I asked if he had ever been servant of either of these people; he said that he had, but his service was limited by the will of Judge Berrian which neither he nor Johnson were prepared to prove; I submitted to Esquire Tomkins the propriety of committing the black to jail and binding the others over to prove their rights, if they had any, which I believe was done; it was stated by Dr. Hill that I read Acts of Congress and Assembly; this I did to convince them that if they took regular means they were as secure under our laws as any other; when I said they should bring them by force I meant legal force, and when I saw the Jerseymen in custody of a constable and Esq. Tompkins present, I had no doubt but that they were brought by legal authority; they all went away, plaintiffs to the Billet, and Esq. Tomkins home; this was two weeks before the time of sessions; John Kenderdine had called at my house before the party came; I was in bed, I looked out of the window, he asked what they they should do if they would not come, when I answered bring them by force, but meant a legal force; I understood they were armed and told them they were in perfect safety and recommended them to give them up, which they did with difficulty; some of the Kenderdines stated it was dark when they took him out of the house; I live one mile from Horsham meeting.

Cross-examined. The road is one and three-fourths of a mile to the Billet; Esquire Tomkins lives about 100 yards from Horsham Meeting; I hold a commission of Justice and had it at that time (shown some papers); the receipt of Pierce Ranley was before me; this bill of sale I never saw before; the other paper I saw was a small strip of paper, somewhat of a receipt and does not know who it was from; cannot tell whether Caleb or Ralph handed them to me; I think the act I read related to kidnapping; I told Constable Roney to take care of them till morning and take them before Esq. Tomkins.

Sarah Rakestraw—I resided, October, 1822, in Horsham, with my sister; when this affair happened I was at Issachar Kenderdine's not half a mile from my sisters; her family consisted of herself, four sons and four daughters, John was the eldest and Justinian was grown, the other two sons were small; I had left the house about an hour before the black was taken; left my sister with her sick daughter; her sister, a young woman, to take care of her, the black man and Robert Nelson; John and Justinian were not at home; Nelson was

not very steady and is now dead; the sister I left in the house is also dead; a messenger was sent for and I returned home, when I saw a wagon at the gate and the Jerseymen were all in it, but could not see how many; it was so dark; Issachar Kenderdine was standing by the wagon and asked them to prove their property, when they said stand off, or we will blow you through, and drove off; I saw that John was in the wagon as it was close to the gate, a few paces from the door.

Cross-examined. Issachar got to the wagon just before me, I came quickly after; cannot tell exactly when Nelson died: Miss Kenderdine died last fall, she was grown up at that time; did not hear them say they would go to the Billet and prove their property, or say anything like it, nor say which way they were going; when I saw them they had left the house and returned, when they demanded the clothes from the gate; the boy who came for me was between six and eight years old.

Charles Palmer—I was standing at my house by the side of the road that leads from Kenderdine's to the Billet, about 200 or 300 yards from Horsham meeting house, when these people passed; I heard them coming some time before they came, driving at the rate of a mile in four minutes; it was so dark that I could not see whether they were white or black, or how many; I went to the Billet, which is about a mile and three-fourths from where I live, where a good many had collected; when I got there John had gone to Judge M'Neill and said he told him to bring them before him, and if they would not come without to bring them by force; Issachar asked them to go but I do not know that they replied, which he repeated but got no answer; I heard Dr. Hill tell them that they had better go peaceable and they went, but I do not know who went in the wagon; when I got to the Judge's he was about examining them: he had some papers in his hand and said with these you might take up any black by the name of John and asked if any constable was there, was told there was, and told him to take them in charge and if he could not take care of them himself to call assistance when he asked me to assist him, but I plead off, he called Issachar Kenderdine and somebody else, but do not know who and they went along; Judge told Esq. Tomkins to take John, and if no security offered to lodge him in the county jail; John and Justinian Kenderdine, Esq. Tomkins, myself and several others, went with John to the Esquire's office, where John and Justinian Kenderdine offered bail for 800 dollars for his appearance at the next term

of court, where some of them took off the irons; when at the Billet I saw no violence by the defendants.

Cross-examined. I knew a few minutes before by John Kenderdine that they were coming; he did not get off his horse, no one with him; my house is between two and three miles from Kenderdine's; when I got to the Billet Issachar was there but did not see Esq. Tomkins there; the first place I saw him was at the Judge's and did not see John at Marple's when I first got there; I did not see Justinian there but saw him at the Judge's; he went to the Esquire's; I did not return to Marple's; I did not see John E. Kenderdine, Thomas Kenderdine, Henry Sandman, Samuel Gray, Robert Kenderdine, nor any of the rest of defendants either at Marple's or the Judge's; did not hear any one say if they would not go they should be tied—no threats used.

John Kenderdine—I am between 20 and 21 years of age; I was upstairs with my mother and little sisters, one of which was sick at the time; when they entered the house one of my sisters went down to get something; when I went to Issachar Kenderdine's there was no wagon standing in front of the house, nor heard anything they said.

Cross-examined. Issachar Kenderdine and Sarah Rakestraw came before me, but I got there soon after; the wagon was standing when I returned; I stayed five or ten minutes and went into the house, leaving it there still.

Isaac Ellis—I was at the Billet on Tuesday morning before they went to Esq. Tomkins, and had some conversation with Caleb Johnson and John Skillman, when they regretted that they had been caught in such difficulties; Johnson told me had thought the black belonged to him, but had doubts whether he could prove it, and stated that he would pay the expenses, providing they could go home; also conversed with Skillman when Johnson was in the hearing; when I asked him if he had not been in the practice of this before, when he said if he could get off this scrape he would not undertake to run negroes without first proving them; the wagon being ready they went on; in conversation with Johnson afterwards he told me he had got some papers he thought would answer, I think it was at the Norristown trial.

Cross-examined. Johnson appeared frightened and said he was ignorant of the courts of Pennsylvania, and that he had been in a deal of trouble about this matter, so that he could neither eat nor sleep; I paid over from the black to counsel about thirty dollars which he handed me, about three dollars

were handed me by individuals to assist him, and might have thrown in one myself.

• Thomas Barnes—I lived on the road between the Kenderdine's and the Billet, one and a half miles from the latter, in Charles Palmer's house; the first I saw was Issachar Kenderdine ride alongside of the Jerseymen and requested them to stop; I was by Palmer's door when I heard the request; they replied the first man that attempted to stop them they would blow his brains out; the next I heard was don't throw stones, and we will stop at the Billet, but saw no one throw stones or sticks, or anything of the kind; Issachar was on horseback; I went to the Billet; when they had been there some time the first I heard was Issachar telling them they must go before Judge M'Neill by his order, and if they would not go willingly they must fetch them by force; they went to the Judge's where I saw them give up their pistols; Justinian Kenderdine, John Kenderdine, John Iredell and myself went to Esquire Tomkins', where John and Justinian Kenderdine entered bail in the amount of 800 dollars for the black in case Mr. Johnson should prove his claims against him.

Cross-examined. Issachar did not say that if they would not go he would tie them; John gave the alarm at Palmer's that the wagon was coming; that was the first that I heard of it; they had two horses to it; they were going at the rate of 14 miles an hour.

John Chester—I was at the Billet on a visit when the Jerseymen came there, and was told by some black man that they were kidnappers, when I went into the house with another black named John and tried to get off the irons, when we were put out of the house; about an hour after they came I cut their traces off while the horses were to the wagon, with my accord, in order to free my color, and then went away; I might have told some one next morning that I did it, but does not know who; I never worked for any of the Kenderdines.

Robert Tomkins—I am son of Esquire Tomkins; I was present when the Jerseymen were before my father on Monday morning; there was two witnesses examined, one of which is since dead; they had no bail, and they went back to the Billet till next morning (is shown docket); I think it is my father's, as I have seen it in the house, and it is his handwriting.

Cross-examined. Cannot say that I saw my father make entries in it; I was about fifteen years old.

Reads records from the docket of Esquire Tomkins. Reads the docket entries of the Circuit and District Courts,

wherein Ralph Johnson and John Skillman have each similar suits pending in the former, and Caleb Johnson seven in the latter, against the same defendants, when defendants closed.

May 2d, 1833.

Josiah Randall, in behalf of the plaintiff, addressed the jury for the space of four hours, endeavoring to impress on their minds that the defendants had acted towards his client in an outrageous manner and without the least shadow of authority; that they both stoned and clubbed them, and then took and kept them as prisoners for several days without any legal authority, to the great damage of the plaintiff, for which they should be sharply dealt with.

May 3d, —.

William Rawle, Jr., for defendants, maintained that they never had confined them or laid the least restraint upon them, or used any violence, but had they brought them by force before the Judge there was law to warrant them in so doing; but had a warrant been requisite, John Kenderdine had applied to the proper authority, as Judge M'Neill had a magistrate's commission at that time, and when before him he had given them in charge of Esquire Tomkins and Constable Roney, for which he had an undoubted right, for where it appeared before him that a felony was about to be committed, he could order their arrest, and had John Kenderdine after that time compromised with them he would have been compounding a felony, for which he would have incurred like penalties with them; that the defendants had acted with prudence, and had a full right to an acquittal.

May 4th.

John Sergeant, for defendants, addressed the jury in a powerful manner, showing the spirit the plaintiff had shown throughout this transaction; that setting aside all respect for society and the laws of the land, he had selected for his purpose the Sabbath day, to come with arms and fetters, and by falsehood intruded themselves into the house of Mrs. Kenderdine's, where they seized an inmate of the family and carried him off, threatening to blow out the brains of those that might interfere, while on part of defendants there was the greatest prudence observed.

May 6th.

Thomas Kittera, for plaintiff, took the floor for the space of two hours, in which he endeavored to personify the defendants, and to show what part each had taken in the transaction, and that damages should be laid accordingly, when he

apologized for the intoxication of Mr. Skillman when before the Court.

In offering this to the public it may be proper to mention that the evidence is a correct statement of facts, as taken from the notes of the attorney, but as no other papers have been retained, I have been under the necessity of depending on personal knowledge for the rest, for which I hold myself accountable, and subscribe myself,

JOHN KENDERDINE.

The records of the U. S. Circuit Court at Philadelphia show that on April 12, 1823, three suits were brought respectively by Caleb Johnson, Ralph Johnson and John Skillman, citizens of New Jersey. All three suits were against Isaac Tomkins, John Kenderdine, Issachar Kenderdine, Justinian Kenderdine, John E. Kenderdine, Thomas Kenderdine, Henry Sandman, Samuel Gray, Robert Kenderdine, John Iredell, Thomas Iredell and Jacob Tomkins, citizens of Pennsylvania.

The complaint was that the defendants on October 20, 1822, made an assault on the plaintiffs, struck them with stones, beat and ill-treated them and compelled them to go out of a public inn in Horsham township and to drive to the office of a Justice of the Peace in that township, where they were imprisoned without cause for 24 hours, by reason of which they were hurt and could not attend to their business, and were compelled to expend money in procuring their discharge and in being cured of their wounds and bruises, and were greatly injured in good name, credit and circumstances, and each plaintiff claimed \$10,000 damages.

For ten years nothing was done in the prosecution of the cases. On April 29, 1833, a trial in the case of Caleb Johnson began and continued until May 7, 1833, when the jury rendered as their verdict that the defendants, Isaac Tompkins, John Kenderdine, Issachar Kenderdine, Justinian Kenderdine and John Iredell were guilty of the trespass and assessed the damages against them at \$4000, and that the other defendants were not guilty, and judgment was accordingly entered. On May 16, 1833, that judgment was marked satisfied on the record and the costs were paid, and on the same day the other

two suits brought by Ralph Johnson and John Skillman were discontinued upon payment of costs.

For properly understanding this case, these two trials, one at Norristown, and the other in Philadelphia, I will explain it to readers as I see it.

After the arrest the slave-owners, or man-stealers, properly so called, entered suits against the above twelve men, some of whom were merely lookers-on, at the time of the arrest, or soon afterward, in the U. S. Court. But as those suits were not proceeded with, or were obstructed for years, Issachar Kenderdine and John Iredell began suit against the slave-catchers, and had them tried at Norristown for their act which had taken place in our county, in the hope if they could convict them the suits in Philadelphia would be discontinued.

The criminal proceedings in the U. S. District Court against these citizens of Horsham township were under the United States law of 1793, and the three suits brought against them in the U. S. Circuit Court were in accordance with the spirit of that law. The law read as follows:

"Any person who shall knowingly and willfully obstruct, hinder or prevent such claimant—slave-master or his agent—from arresting such fugitive, or shall harbor or conceal such fugitive, so as to prevent the discovery and arrest of such person, after notice or knowledge of the fact that such person was a fugitive from such service or labor as aforesaid, shall for either of said offenses be subject to a fine not exceeding six thousand dollars and an imprisonment not exceeding six months by indictment and conviction before the District Court of the United States for the district in which such offense may have been committed," etc., etc.

I have given this brief extract from the official copy of the law, because I have discovered that many of even our intelligent people seem to be ignorant that prior to what is now called the Fugitive Slave law there was any law that imposed penalties on persons in the free states for helping fugitives from being carried back to their masters. The Fugitive Slave law of 1850, advocated by Daniel Webster, and signed by Millard Fillmore, is only a supplement to the Act of 1793 and which adds some additional penalties and makes it a criminal offense if even the mildest, most peaceful citizen dare refuse

to help the slave-holder carry away his prey when the slave-catcher shall have asked him to do so. At the time the slave was taken from Kenderdine's the Fugitive Slave bill of 1850 had not become a law, but yet, as we see, they suffered severe penalties. When this addition was made to the law the run-aways felt that the protecting hands of their friends were tied; that when arrested there would be none to raise a hand to aid them. Hence it was that Charles Brice, whose case I have mentioned, like hundreds of other fugitives, were in so great haste to start for Canada, where slaves cannot live. The moment his feet strike its soil his bonds are broken and he is a free man.

The humiliation of the people of the North on thus being shown their subserviency to the Southern slave-holders must have been greatly mortifying to all sensible, humane people, and yet we had the strange fact before us that ninety-nine people out of every hundred voters—law-makers—were with the slave-holders in upholding the laws which sanctioned such outrages; and in denunciation of those who raised their voices against the accursed system; which tore families apart; dragged the child from the breast of its mother; the wife from the husband, and dealt to their unhappy victims other atrocities, disgraceful to human nature. But, even the then cruel laws proved to be too humane for the rapacious man-thief, as we shall see hereafter. Readers of the foregoing will surely expect that the Horsham people were aroused to action as Abolitionists after so many years of strife and the payment of such heavy damages.

Despite the excitement caused by the arrest of the slave spoken of, I may say there was not much interest shown, or abolition work done, in Horsham and Abington in the fiercest days of the contest, between 1830 and 1845. Though David Newport says that the burning of Abolition Hall—Pennsylvania Hall—in 1836, aroused them somewhat, they were lukewarm until George F. White, a Quaker preacher, stirred them to action in 1840, by his earnest advocacy of the cause.

"In 1844, a public hall was built in Mooretown, Abington township, but not by abolitionists, in which they sometimes

held meetings for speakers from abroad. In Horsham the abolitionists were few in number. Charles Kirk and family, James Paul, John Iredell and Charles Walton, and some other families, were good, but not working abolitionists, until after President Lincoln's proclamation became the law of the land."

The only case reported by anyone in Horsham in relation to harboring or helping slaves northward is by Isaac Warner, of Hatboro, who wrote to me, and said, "I took a slave-woman, covered up in a wagon, all the way to Quakertown, to Richard Moore. Father told me not to stop at any tavern to water the horse, but to do it at the streams by the roadside." He adds: "Our house was one of the stations of the underground railroad."

From all that I have gathered in relation to Friends in Horsham, it is apparent that they were, as a body, very luke-warm on the subject of slavery, and unfavorable to any of their individual members acting with avowed abolitionists.

On this subject Isaac Mather, now in his 88th year, has written:

"The members of Abington Monthly Meeting were at the time very conservative; did not look on the abolition movement with much favor. They did not, of course, advocate slavery, but favored gradual emancipation. I do not think any slave-catchers were in our midst. Our meeting was never used to hold an abolition convention, but applications may have been made for it for that purpose. Lucretia Mott occasionally attended at religious meetings, when she always advocated immediate emancipation and woman suffrage."

To readers of abolition times, in years to come, it will be interesting to know what religious bodies believed and how they acted in reference to the subject. I will, therefore, quote the words of that faithful, unwearied abolition worker during 30 years, and secretary of the Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Society, Miss Mary Grew, who, in reviewing its labors for 36 years, wrote:

"It cannot be claimed for its members that they counted the cost of the warfare upon which they were entering, nor the number of the years which lay stretched out in the dim future, between their first battle and their final victory. It was well for them, well for the cause to which they had vowed allegiance, that this knowledge lay beyond their reach. The soul

that would have fainted, or faltered before the prefigured vision of that long period of toil and strife, was yet stronger for the buoyant hope of early victory, and addressed itself to the labors of each successive year all the more ardently for the bright possibility that its close might usher in the jubilee. As they went on they found their work widening, their responsibility deepening at every step. It is now a page of history; it was then a startling revelation daily made; a daily experience daily born, that the churches which had nurtured their sons and daughters on the words of Christian love and human brotherhood, had no desire to see them practically illustrated towards the slave or the negro. With more of keen disappointment and sorrow than of indignation, did we look on the strange spectacle of the American church standing by to keep the garments of an enraged populace stoning the Stephens of that martyr age."

The author of the underground railroad continues the subject as follows:

"It is sad to have to record that the Society of Friends was no exception to this indictment. Notwithstanding the fact that many of its members were also members of the various anti-slavery societies, it was as a body untrue to its righteous testimony against slavery, and was becoming increasingly averse to the agitation of so unpopular a question. Only here and there could a meeting-house be found where an avowed discussion of the subject was permitted. Friends were exhorted to 'keep in the quiet,' to 'avoid all contention,' and to be careful about 'going out into the mixture.'

"Those ministers who persisted in introducing the obnoxious topic in their discourses were regarded as 'subjects of uneasiness.' Lucretia Mott, as one of these, encountered many difficulties; but so far from being deterred by them she sought every opportunity to plead the cause of the oppressed, both in and out of the limitations of the society. Although never employed as a lecturer by the anti-slavery society, she did as faithful work as any in her own way."

Because of my life-long prepossession in favor of the principles of Friends and their doings, as a religious society, having in early life been educated in their schools and now for more than eighty years an attendant of their meetings—though never a member—I feared that in this paper I might favor that society as being one more favorable to abolition than those of other denominations. To judge from what I

have written I cannot be charged with undue favoritism towards Friends, but can truthfully say that of the abolitionists in our county, scarcely one could be found but was a member of Friends' meeting or an attendant upon them.

Of the early abolitionists in Horsham, only a very few can be named. I mean those who were pointed at as being of those despised fanatics, Charles Walton, John Iredell, James Paul, Aaron Kirk, Charles Kirk and Isaac Warner and father. The other Kenderdines, and those who suffered with them in the case connected with the arrest, were not counted so at that time; but as the real agitation was not so early as that event, they perhaps were somewhat in favor of abolitionism, but they were at no subsequent time ranked with the active, outspoken abolitionists.

To the above I may add the names of George Kenderdine (millwright), Elizabeth Newport, her son David Newport, both ministers among Abington Friends, and Dr. Charles Shoemaker, of Jenkintown. As I have none others in Cheltenham and Abington I will name George H. Keller, of Cheltenham, as an outspoken one.

In Abington, in 1848, four persons voted the Free Soil ticket: Joseph Heacock and his son John, Dr. George Harris, Jonathan Slater. In Moreland, George Spencer, John Walton, Benjamin Morgan, George Kenderdine and David Newport. But these persons, except the last-named, can scarcely be ranked with the working abolitionists that stood by the cause in the days from 1830 to 1845, or thereabout, though Dr. Charles Shoemaker, of Jenkintown, was a staunch abolitionist quite early in the contest. Those were the years in which our faith was tested. I hope to be pardoned for extending this paper by speaking of this fierce struggle in those years, as given by Wm. Still when giving a history of the anti-slavery work of Miller McKim. More vividly than it is possible for the pen to portray, the subject of this sketch recalls the struggles of the worst years of slavery, when the conflict was most exciting and interesting, when more minds were aroused and more laborers were hard at work in the field, when more anti-slavery speeches were made, tracts, papers

and books were written, printed and distributed, when more anti-slavery petitions were signed for the abolition of slavery; in a word, when the barbarism of slavery was more exposed and condemned than ever before in the same length of time. Abolitionists were then intensely in earnest, and determined never to hold their peace or cease their warfare until *immediate and unconditional emancipation* was achieved. On the other hand, during the same period, it is not venturing too much to assert that the slave power was more oppressive than ever before; slave enactments more cruel; the spirit of slavery more intolerant; the fetters more tightly drawn; perilous escapes more frequent; slave captures and slave hunts more appalling; in short, the enslavers of the race had never before so defiantly assumed that negro slavery was sanctioned by the Divine laws of God.

After reading this it will not, I hope, be considered invidious to say that although none but Friends took any part in the abolition cause in Horsham and Abington, even they did very little. I ought to make an exception here as regards John Iredell and Charles and Aaron Kirk. Mrs. Harriet E. Kirk, widow of Charles Kirk, in a letter to me, said:

"Abolitionism was very unpopular among Friends, at that time, and I heard my husband say that his conscientious opposition to slavery and his avoidance of the use of slave produce subjected him to many trials, which he keenly felt. On one occasion, when partaking of the hospitality of a Friend of his own monthly meeting (Abington) he declined to partake of some of the luxuries produced by slave labor; he was told that no abolitionist could have any appointment in their monthly meeting."

UPPER PROVIDENCE.

There was a group of abolitionists in Upper Providence township radiating from Friends' Meeting as a centre, for miles in every direction. John Barnet, a Friend and preacher in the society, and his wife Jane, who lived near to the meeting house, were among the earliest to give their adhesion to the cause. Then came Benjamin Cox and wife, their son-in-law William Taylor and his wife, Thomas Hopkins and

wife, Robert Tyson and wife, all Friends; Charles Corson and wife and sons and daughters, not members, but attendants at Friends' meetings; Abel Fitzwater, Robert M. Eandis. All of them, except the Fitzwaters, lived between the meeting-house and the Perkiomen and Skippack creeks, on the eastern boundary of the circle, and all of whom I knew. Of those west of the meeting-house I am in receipt of a letter from Joseph Fitzwater, son of the veteran Abel Fitzwater. He writes:

"Yours of the 1st, asking for information in regard to the anti-slavery movement in this region is at hand. To your question, 'Who were the anti-slavery people?' I answer John Jacobs and wife, and his sons and daughters; Charles and Jesse Hammer and my father and his family, in the immediate vicinity. I remember a slave we called Loui led by our house by two men on horseback; a rope being fastened to the slave's body. I think, however, he made his escape the next day."

I have no doubt that this was the slave spoken of by George Corson, whose master he arrested in Norristown, and who was given to the master. Mr. Fitzwater lived but a mile or thereabouts above Esq. Vanderslice's, and George Corson came upon him but little more than a mile or so this side of Vanderslice's.

"My uncle, Isaac Price, on the Chester county bank of the Schuylkill, and almost opposite our house, was a preacher, and a very active anti-slavery man. John H. Umstad, also a preacher, was an anti-slavery man, though not so active. In fact, the Dunkard, or German Baptist Church, to which these spoken of belonged, did not tolerate slave holding among its members, North or South.

"On one occasion there were three runaways threshing in the barn of John Jacobs, when their masters came upon them suddenly; but they sprang down to the barn-yard and found refuge in a thicket, and were not taken. Numbers of them stopped at our house on their way North. One poor fellow had been beaten until his back was raw from his shoulders down. My mother doctored him for more than a week before he was able to resume his journey. Many others showed marks of severe whippings."

Besides those already named as being more or less active and outspoken in the work in Upper and Lower Providence

townships, I may mention Joshua Place, Francis Royer, son of Judge Joseph Royer, a fluent and fearless speaker, Israel and Benjamin Jacobs, sons of John Jacobs, Dr. James Hamer, Joseph Henry and Henry Loucks, Esq. But these abolitionists there, as well as elsewhere, had as opponents Dr. Thomas Davis, Dr. Gordon, a dentist, Rev. Henry Rodenbaugh, quite recently deceased, and Judge Joseph Hunsicker, who were advocates for the colonization scheme. As a consequence of this diversity of opinion there were frequent public discussions in school-houses or elsewhere, where they could be accommodated. Both parties were at times aided by speakers from other places. On the abolition side, Charles C. Burleigh, the grandest of orators, his brothers Cyrus and William and Dr. Edward Fussell took part, opposed by Dr. John R. Gregg and Robert McCloskey, who aided the colonizationists of the neighborhood. Excitement was at fever heat during these years, but the churches, as religious bodies, stood aloof from the discussion, but ever ready to show their private opposition to any of their members who were rash enough to join actively with the abolitionists in their efforts to make America the land of freedom, untrodden by the foot of a slave.

A son of Charles Corson has informed me that he well remembers, though then a mere boy, in 1838 or 1839, bringing Salmon P. Chase from Phoenixville, by way of his father's to the Mennonite Meeting-House, having in their course to cross "Tyson's Dam," and how uneasy Mr. Chase said he was lest the ice might break and they be lost under it. The fact that men like the Burleighs, and Salmon P. Chase, Miller McKim and others could be brought from their distant homes to obscure country places like the region spoken of, shows how great was the interest taken in this cause, and how the excitement had penetrated to every nook and corner of our beloved state, on the border line of slavery. It may be proper, after the above, to give a few more cases of the many that were passed on by this group of vigilant workers.

Joseph Fitzwater writes to me that a man in their region, who is still living, has informed him that his father lived with

John Jacobs as farmer, and that frequently after having secreted a party of runaway slaves all day his father would be sent with them at night to Quakertown to Richard Moore, and also that Friend Jacobs had a shanty built in the woods, to which they would send them, when there were too many to keep in the house.

In January, 1842, William Taylor, of Upper Providence, had two runaways working for him. One day they were cutting down trees in a wood near a country road as early as sunrise, when they were suddenly confronted by four well-dressed men, who had alighted from a carriage which they had hitched to the fence, and in a quite cool manner said to the runaways, "You belong to us, get into the carriage," at the same time displaying pistols. The two colored men stepped beside each other with a view, no doubt, for better and mutual protection, and with their sharp axes constantly in motion kept the slave-hunters at bay, and themselves kept on stepping back towards the road, till near the house of Thomas Hopkins, an active abolitionist. There they called for help and the men took to their carriage.

The case of Rachel, or "Rache," as she was called, who had been a slave in Baltimore, is a very interesting one. She had lived comfortably with her husband, not a slave, at West Chester, for years, until the master had her arrested. Her escape from him and her reception by Dr. Fussell is a thrilling one; but as this occurred in Chester county, we will start with her after she and three others were brought at night by Dr. Fussell to William Taylor's, whose home, then, was at Phoenixville. Mr. Taylor, in speaking of it, said:

"I arose and mounted my horse to pilot them. We crossed the Schuylkill at Phoenixville. There was no bridge there then (forty-four years ago), and the night was very dark. I took the Doctor and his party to Charles Corson's. A large part of the road was through woods and so dark that I had to feel the way and lead the Doctor's horse. We crossed the Perkiomen creek at Tyson's mill and got to Corson's about midnight. I left the Doctor and party at Corson's and returned home at 3 o'clock. Charles Corson the next day geared his horse to his market wagon and took 'Rache' to Wil-

liam H. Johnson's, at Buckingham, Bucks county, a distance of about 25 miles. William H. Johnson wrote to her husband in West Chester, to tell him where she was. He gave a power of attorney to some one in West Chester and forwarded the receipts to him in Waterloo, Canada, which he had reached."

He gave other cases—those of John and James French; Perry and Lucy Simons; Eliza, a slave mother, and her son, all of whom came to the Upper Providence group and were crossed over the Perkiomen to Charles Corson's and on and on to the station in Bucks county, and finally to Canada. To others of the group they came, as well as to Mr. Taylor and Charles Corson, and in closing his account, he said:

"So it would appear to those who stood aloof, that the road of those engaged in the underground railroad was not always strewn with flowers, but there was a consolation that outsiders did not understand."

SKIPPACK, TOWAMENCIN, AND TOWNSHIPS ADJOINING.

Knowing full well that George Lukens, a Friend, in Towamencin township, was a staunch abolitionist in the fiercest days of the war for the slaves' freedom, I sought information from his son Seth Lukens, of Gwynedd, one also true to the cause, in relation to what was done in that region. He replied as follows:

"My father's house was an underground railroad station as early as 1819, when a fugitive came and asked for work. Father employed him. He stayed about a year, but became afraid and went further North. In 1832 a Chester county man brought to his house a husband, wife and three children. They rested there during a few days, and were sent on to Quakertown. From that time to 1840 a great number were passed on, and I do not know that a single one in our district was returned to slavery. In 1845 I was married and we entertained several; the last one in 1853. He went to Richard Moore's, at Quakertown, and settled there.

"But my own experience was in 1852 or 1854. Samuel Aaron was nominated by those who were opposed to slavery as a candidate for Congress, and he asked me to arrange for a series of meetings for him to speak at, which I did in school-

houses. As it was impossible to get better accommodations, I got school-houses at Hickory Tree, in Lower Providence, at Freeland, at Limerick Square, at Zieglersville, at Sumneytown, at Harleysville, and one at Kulpsville, which was the seventh meeting.

"Samuel Aaror went on foot from place to place, and at our place, Kulpsville, his audience was only seven; and he told me that was as many as he had at any place except Freeland, where he had eighteen persons. This shows how slavery ruled the county, as whisky is ruling it now."

George Lukens was the only open, known abolitionist in Towamencin, and Seth, his son, the only one in Gwynedd township, the home, too, as it was, of so many Friends. William Foulke, of Penllyn, we always regarded as very favorable, and from Norristown and Plymouth many runaways were sent to him, with a full assurance on our part that once at his home they would be well cared for, and that he would send them on along the road to Quakertown, or a station nearer his home, and we regarded him as the only abolitionist in the neighborhood, a region in which both bodies of Friends were numerous. Though Jesse Spencer, Edward Foulke and their families were favorable to the cause and to abolitionists, they took no part, and were not, by us, regarded as Friends to whom we would freely send runaways. So, too, of Montgomery township. I have not been able, after repeated and persistent inquiries, to discover that there was a single person there spoken of as an abolitionist. The people of that township were all free from that reproach. My friend Seth Lukens says:

"I know that there was not a single one an abolitionist from Gwynedd through all the upper townships, save my father, in Towamencin."

In this group of abolitionists I include Dr. James Hamer, Sr. and Dr. James Hamer, Jr., of Skippack township.

Dr. James Hamer, now of Collegeville, and in the seventy-fifth year of his age, informs me:

"While yet a young man, and engaged in teaching, in Skippack township, the door of the school-house began to open very slowly in an apparently cautious manner, and a dark face and woolly head protruded through the open space,

and inquired whether that was the road to George Lukens'. George Lukens belonged to Quakers and was a friend of the enslaved, and the colored man had been directed to his house. This was before the agitation for the abolition of slavery had assumed an aggressive form. It was some time after this that meetings were appointed in Upper Providence for Charles C. Burleigh. Several years after this we succeeded in getting up a meeting for Cyrus M. Burleigh—brother to Charles—in Kulpsville, Towamencin township, to agitate against slavery. When the Free Soil party was organized we had no votes in any townships west and north of Skippack township. In the Presidential election, in 1848, there were 220 votes polled in our township (Skippack), only two of which were for the Free Soil candidate. In 1852, when John P. Hale was the candidate, and 160 votes were polled, Seth Lukens, of Towamencin, and Charles Todd Jenkins, of Hatfield, had come into the Free Soil ranks. There was one year when our ticket in Skippack township was composed partly of candidates nominated by the Whigs, and eight or ten votes were cast. At the first Presidential election after the organization of the Free Soil party the only two votes polled for our party came from father and myself. And I believe we never polled more than three or four votes for the straight ticket in Skippack township before the Republican party was founded and Fremont nominated.

"We, during all the time the fugitives were fleeing, had but one slave to come to us to be helped on to the land of freedom. There were at one time some fugitives domiciled in a strip of wood about three miles below Phoenixville, in Upper Providence township, on a farm, since owned by my uncles, Jesse, Charles and David Hamer, part of the old homestead conveyed by the name of Gilbert Manor by William Penn's agents to James Hamer and his son. Abel Fitzwater, who was then living, had a hand in looking after these people.

"My uncle, Charles Hamer, had left the Whig party early enough to vote in Upper Providence with the Free Soilers."

POTTSTOWN.

In Pottstown there were a few abolitionists. John P. Rutter, his brother Charles and Joseph Neide are prominently before me, as they were members of our county anti-slavery society. There were others interested in behalf of the cause, as Jesse Ives, father-in-law of Charles Rutter, and John Titlow, Miss Mariette Rutter, daughter of Charles, wrote to me:

"On one occasion John Titlow was taking three slaves to the next underground railroad station, having them dressed in women's clothes, when he was met by the owners, who were looking for them. They, without stopping, cast mere glances into the wagon and inquired if he had seen three men, their slaves, but seeing only women there they passed on and the slaves thus escaped."

She also wrote:

"My grandfather had letters from several fugitives after they had reached Canada."

It was from Columbia and Harrisburg—the first stopping places of the fugitives, after they escaped from the Maryland and Virginia borders—that slaves were sent by different routes to all southeastern Pennsylvania. Of these Phoenixville, in Chester county, as well as the entire county, and Pottsville and Norristown, received a great many. Many got across the Susquehanna lower down than Columbia.

"The Rutters, Joseph Neide, Henry Potts and a few others were active," says Miss Rutter, "in rendering assistance to fugitives, and many were concealed and sheltered in their barns, out-houses and kitchen, and when opportunity came they were sent further on at night by an old colored man, who was himself a runaway slave.

"My grandfather, Jesse Ives, was earnest and active in efforts to aid slaves to escape, and always gave them money to help them along. At one time seven came together to the office of Joseph Potts—the Pottses were all abolitionists. When asked what they would do should they be caught, one drew a knife from his belt and said, 'We will never be taken alive, massa.'"

On one occasion, Mr. Miller McKim was staying at Mr. Rutter's, while on a lecturing tour, when some slave-masters were going through the place in search of slaves, and were told of his being in the house, and that he was the editor of the

"Pennsylvania Freeman," an anti-slavery paper published in Philadelphia. These hunters of slaves and those who sympathized with them would have attacked and stoned him but that he escaped by the back way and was taken away by Mr. Rutter, son of John P. Rutter, whose house was an underground railroad station. From Pottstown they were generally taken to Exeter, to Berks county Friends. By the vigilance of abolitionists at Pottstown an actual arrest of a slave did not occur. The two Rutters and Joseph Neide voted the Free Soil ticket in 1841.

It seems strange now that so few persons could be found in that town and township to take part in this humane work. It was, doubtless, there, as elsewhere, the result of the action of the ministers, or as now generally called pastors, of the churches being hostile to the movement because it was unpopular, and therefore they could preach against it and talk pathetically about the "owners being robbed of their property." Nor this alone. They spoke of it as a Divine institution, and held up the Bible as proof of it. I have been informed that in Pottstown in those days the rector of the Episcopal Church was not at all in sympathy with the abolitionists, and censured very much some of his members who were foremost in advocacy of justice for the slave. He afterward became more lenient and changed his views somewhat. It is pertinent here to ask why this change. And the answer comes, "Because the subject had grown in interest with the congregation and he saw it was time to go with his people."

"Rev. Dr. Boardman, of Philadelphia," said my informant, "on one occasion preached here, upholding slavery and basing his views upon the Bible. And so strong was the feeling that Mr. Henry Potts and others would not go to hear him. There was an intense feeling in the matter, and all who were interested at all felt very deeply on the subject. I do not know that there was a single minister in this region who was favorable to abolition."

This shows how great the opposition and influence against which the abolitionists of Pottstown and, I may say, everywhere in the county had to contend. There was not in the years between 1835 and 1840 a single pastor or preacher in

any denomination in the county who raised his voice in favor of justice to the oppressed slave, save only Rev. Nathan Stem, of the Norristown Episcopal Church.

In thus writing I have no desire to reproach these religious teachers, but as a truthful historian it seems necessary to show the feeling pervading the religious community at that time.

Of the group of early abolitionists in Pottstown it gives me pleasure to name my friends, Henry Potts, John P. and Charles Rutter, Joseph Neide and others, viz: Jesse Ives, John Titlow and John Eckert, and some women Friends, as Rebecca Potts (a preacher) and Sarah Potts; indeed, all the Pottses and Rutters were in accord with the abolition movement.

It is proper here to say that the Pottses and Rutters, spoken of here, were Episcopalians, my informant says, and that she "did not know of a single minister in Pottstown, or in the county anywhere in that region, who was favorable to abolitionism." All honor, therefore, for the little band of lovers of justice who were willing to confront the popular clamor and bravely speak for the oppressed. Since writing the above sketch of the doings in Pottstown, Miss Mariette Rutter has sent to me the following public notice, posted up in different places in the town, and which she happened to find while looking over some old papers. This is a confirmation of the danger with which Mr. McKim was confronted, as reported by Miss Rutter, and shows the feeling of the majority—nearly all, I may say—of the Pottstown people, against the subject and against the few abolitionists there.

It is written in a large, bold hand.

"McKim,

"The advocate of amalgamation negro equality and subversion of the constitution of the constituted authorities of the South, is now prowling about the borough.

Be on the alert.

"And remember, in the language of the illustrious Jackson, 'that every good citizen should at all times stand ready to put down with the combined force of the people, every attempt at resistance to the constituted authorities.'

"Be not deceived by his sanctity. Remember that the abolitionists look down with scorn and contempt on the white laborer and mechanic, and under the garb of religion have endeavored to induce you to become the associates and fit subjects for promoting a violation of the national faith, and a dissolution of the Union."

Though in other boroughs and abolition centres in the county public denunciations, in written form, may not have been made during those days, showers of like abuse were rained on the heads of the few who stood boldly for the relief of the suffering slaves in every place where abolitionists did congregate.

I have thus, as well as the infirmities consequent on ninety years of busy life will allow, gathered together these reminiscences of the long struggle of a few of the people of Montgomery county to aid in the overthrow of the system of negro slavery, which in a most diabolical manner was carried on in our Southern states, under the protection of the laws of the whole nation. I have, too, called before you the people who were early in the work and who persevered in their labors until Abraham Lincoln, our martyred President, by his Proclamation of Emancipation of all the slaves of this nation, made it unnecessary for further efforts on our part.

Forgetfulness, induced by the lapse of many years since the work was in progress, and the death of almost every actor in it, have necessarily caused it to be somewhat imperfect. Names of some of the actors have, possibly, not been remembered and recorded, but they are few, if any. I have spoken of things nearly all of which I know and part of which I was.

[Extracts from this paper were read by Dr. Hiram Corson before the Historical Society, October 31, 1894. Dr. Corson died March 4, 1896, aged 92 years.]

BATTLE OF THE CROOKED BILLET. 77

BY GEN. W. W. H. DAVIS.

The Delaware-Schuylkill peninsula, including both banks of these rivers, is richer in Revolutionary history than any other section of the country. The war was almost fought within these narrow limits; it was the alpha and omega of the movement that gave constitutional government to America. Here the war for independence was given form and substance by that immortal Declaration, which electrified the world by announcing that "all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

As the war progressed, this peninsula was repeatedly traversed by the Continental Army with Washington at its head; and, in the dark days of December, 1776, when driven out of New Jersey, it sought shelter behind the friendly waters of the Delaware, whence it turned on the foe and gained the victories at Trenton and Princeton. On four occasions the army crossed this peninsula immediately preceding, or following, important events in the war; in 1777, to open the campaign of Brandywine and Germantown; in 1778, to strike the enemy in flank at Monmouth while escaping from Philadelphia to New York; in 1781, on its march to cross swords with Cornwallis at Yorktown; and, after his surrender, it returned by the same route later in the fall. At the close of the war, delegates assembled at the capital city of this peninsula and formed that constitution which welded thirteen feeble colonies into the most powerful nation of the world; and here was establish-

ed the capital of the infant republic, and the new government successfully launched on its career of greatness.

Starting from this village, a pedestrian of ordinary power can walk to any one of eight battle-fields of the Revolution in a single day: Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, Paoli, Germantown, Fort Mifflin, Red Bank and Monmouth, not to mention the Crooked Billet. In addition to these fields is Valley Forge, where more courage was required than in any battle of the war. I repeat, that no section of the country is so rich in Revolutionary history and incident as this peninsula.

The fall and winter of 1777-78 were among the most trying periods of the war. The preceding campaign had been disastrous to our arms. Defeated at Brandywine; forced to retreat at Germantown in the moment of victory; the fall of Fort Mifflin and Red Bank, the keys to the Delaware, and the enemy in possession of Philadelphia, military operations closed with little apparent hope for the cause of the colonies. As the winter set in Washington marched with his ragged battalions to the bleak hills of Valley Forge, where he encountered a more inexorable foe than British bayonet or Hessian sabre.

Washington, finding it necessary to have this peninsula guarded by a military force to prevent supplies reaching the enemy at Philadelphia, he placed it in command of John Lacey, a Bucks county Quaker, Brigadier General of militia. He had seen service as Captain in Wayne's regiment on the Canada frontiers, and was esteemed an excellent officer. He entered upon duty in January, 1778, under special instructions from the Commander-in-Chief. He was active during the winter and spring, with a force never large enough for the duty required of him, patrolling the country and trying to prevent intercourse with the city. He was constantly moving, and we find his headquarters, in turn, at Græmie Park, on the county line, Rodman's farm, now the Bucks County Almshouse property, at Doylestown, the Crooked Billet, and at other places. Despite all his efforts to break up intercourse between city and country, it had become so frequent by the end of March it was seriously contemplated to depopulate the

country between the Delaware and Schuylkill for the distance of fifteen miles, but the plan failed to receive Washington's approval. He had frequent encounters with the enemy, sometimes meeting with loss.

Near the close of April we find Lacey moving down the York road as far as Edge Hill to watch a party of the enemy, but, learning they had gone to Philadelphia, he returned with his whole force, about 400 militia. He encamped in a wood but, learning they had gone to Philadelphia, he returned to the Crooked Billet with his whole force, about 400 militia. He encamped in a wood owned by Samuel Irvine, on the east side of the York road, at the upper end of the village, his right resting on the road and facing south. Lacey quartered in a stone house, on the opposite side of the road, owned by one Gilbert, many years the home of the late John M. Hoagland, and now the property of Thomas Reading. Here he was attacked at daylight May 1, by a large body of British, suffered considerable loss in killed, wounded and prisoners, and was obliged to fall back a couple of miles. He had taken the ordinary precautions to prevent surprise, but his orders were not carried out. The evening before he was joined by a body of unarmed militia.

General Howe, the British commander, had it in contemplation to attack and disperse Lacey's force, and Major Simcoe, the commander of the Queen's Rangers, a refuge corps, was charged with making the arrangements. He was familiar with the country, having traversed it in most directions; and had sent spies into Lacey's neighborhood, and had all his movements watched. He learned that Lacey expected to be at the Billet May 1, and gained other information that would be of value, which was reported to General Howe with his plans. They were approved and the expedition ordered. In addition to the Queen's Rangers a considerable body of cavalry and light infantry was detailed, and spare horses were to be taken along to mount the infantry should that be necessary; the whole to be under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Abercrombie. The time fixed was May 1, and the troops were ordered to hold themselves in readiness.

The following plan of attack was agreed upon. The British were to reach the vicinity of Lacey's camp at daylight. The Queen's Rangers were to attack his left flank and rear, which, if successful, would prevent him falling back to the hills of Neshaminy; while a body, to be placed in ambush on the road leading from the Billet to Horsham Meeting-House, would cut off his retreat to the main army at Valley Forge. Simcoe was to bring on the attack, and, when the firing of the Rangers was heard, a third body was to move up the York road through the Billet, and attack Lacey's camp in front. This would place the Americans between two fires, and, it was thought by acting in concert their object could be accomplished with difficulty.

The British troops left Philadelphia on the afternoon of April 30, with guides acquainted with the country. They marched out Second street, and up the Middle, or Oxford, road through the Fox Chase to Huntingdon Valley. Here the force was divided, the main body, composed of light infantry and cavalry and commanded by Abercrombie in person, marching by the nearest route to the York road and thence to the place of the proposed ambuscade. Simcoe, with the Queen's Rangers and some cavalry, continued up the Middle road above the Sorrel Horse tavern; turned into the Byberry road, and along it to Lloyd's Corner; then turned to the right into the road leading from Willow Grove to the county line; now changed to the left, at Bean's corner, now Kimball's, and came into the county line a short distance above where the old "eight-square" school-house stood. In a few hundred yards they took to the fields across the farm of Isaac Boileau the nearest way to the Billet.

During the night Simcoe fell in with Captain Thomas' company of armed refugees and barely escaped an encounter with them. The enemy was so anxious to capture Lacey, spies were placed in the trees about his quarters to watch his movements; and Captain Kerr, who marched with Simcoe, was ordered to seize and hold Lacey's quarters with his detachment of horse as a rallying point. The enemy marched

with all possible speed, but daylight appeared before Simcoe reached Lacey's camp. He had escaped all the patrols.

I have stated that Lacey took the necessary precautions to prevent surprise. He gave orders the evening before for the patrols to leave camp at 3 o'clock, but it was near daylight before they left. Lieutenant Neilson, who took the road to Horsham, came within sight of the cavalry and light infantry in a mile, and sent a soldier back to camp to give the alarm. He found the militia paraded. The patrol under Lieutenant Laughlin returned to camp after a scout of a couple of miles without discovering the enemy, but heard firing before getting back.

Abercrombie, fearing he should not be in time to support Simcoe's attack, detached a part of the cavalry and the mounted infantry to the place of ambush, while he marched up the York road with the main body to strike Lacey in front. From the way Lacey was hemmed in, Abercrombie probably sent a detachment up the Easton road to turn his right flank and fall upon his rear in concert with the Queen's Rangers. They must have come into the York road where the county line crosses it, and where the cavalry attacked Lacey's left soon after he began his retreat. General Lacey states in his report to General Armstrong, that one detachment of the enemy passed the cross roads in his rear before his scouts got there.

The enemy was within 200 yards of Lacey's camp when first discovered. He was in bed, but dressed in a hurry, mounted his horse and joined his command. It is charged that he carried part of his clothes in his hands. The enemy, in his front and rear, opened fire about this time, being sheltered by the houses and fences. Seeing himself nearly surrounded, and the enemy's force superior to his own, Lacey ordered a retreat, moving by column to the left in the direction of a wood across open fields, the wagons following, and in full view of the enemy in pursuit. He states that when he emerged into the open fields, and a body of the enemy's horse appeared in front, his men gave him an anxious look, as if asking him what they should do. He ordered them to "deliver

their fire and push on." His flanking parties now began exchanging shots with the enemy, and were soon hotly engaged.

Lacey moved across the fields in tolerable order to the wood, probably the tract that belongs to the late William K. Goentner's estate. Here he made a stand. By this time the several parties of the enemy had come up, and attacked him on all sides. He says in his report to Washington: "I kept moving on till I made the wood, when the party of both horse and foot came up the Byberry road and attacked my right flank; the party from the Billet fell upon my rear; the horse from the rear of my camp came upon my left flank, and a body of horse appeared directly in front." The situation of things shows that Lacey was surrounded, and his position critical. The enemy now began to concentrate on the wood, and General Lacey being much exposed, and having already suffered considerable loss, thought it safer to move on, which he did with the loss of all his baggage.

The force which appeared on Lacey's right flank and front, about the time he reached the wood, was Simcoe's rangers and cavalry. When Simcoe left the county line and struck across the fields directly for the Billet, and, while explaining to his officers his plan of attack, hearing firing in the direction of Abercrombie's detachment, he exclaimed, "The dragoons have discovered us," and pushed on at a rapid pace to join in the action. He came up on the right flank of the retreating Americans, as already stated, intercepting on his march some small parties of fleeing militiamen, several of whom were killed. He dispatched a party of cavalry to intercept Lacey's baggage, and captured it while crossing the fields. While the Americans were marching through the wood, Simcoe resorted to a *ruse*, thinking it might induce them to lay down their arms. Riding within hailing distance, he ordered them to surrender, and, as they did not halt, he gave, in a loud tone, the commands, "Make ready, present, fire," to deceive them into the belief that he had a body of troops with him. In this he was disappointed; they continued to move on, paying no other attention to him than bowing their heads at the word "fire." The retreating Americans were pursued for a couple

of miles, skirmishing with the enemy, an occasional man falling. They passed across the farm of Thomas Craven and by the present Johnsville to near the Bristol road, when they turned to the left into a wood, when pursuit was relinquished. Entering the York road near Hartsville, Lacey moved down towards the scene of the late conflict, hoping to find the enemy off his guard in the hour of victory, but he had retired, carrying his wounded and most of his killed with him.

The loss was not heavy on either side, and that of the British not accurately known. General Lacey reports 26 killed and 8 or 10 wounded, most of which fell while crossing the open fields. Several were taken prisoners. Lacey lost three officers killed, two with the patrols, and Captain Downey, acting commissary of subsistence. The latter had taught school in Philadelphia, and rendered valuable services in the war; among other duties making a military survey of the Delaware. He was first wounded in the shoulder, and afterward bayoneted and hacked in a brutal manner. The loss of the enemy is still more uncertain, as he carried most of his killed, and all his wounded, away with him. He left five dead bodies on the field. A field officer is supposed to have been killed, and another officer was so badly wounded in the knee he was carried to the farm house of Thomas Craven where his wound was dressed. In the report of Major Simcoe he admits some of his rangers were wounded, and says the shoe buckles of Captain McGill probably saved the life of that officer. The Americans were buried in one grave above Craven's corner and near the county line; the wounded were taken to the house of Thomas Craven and treated there until able to be removed. After burying the dead and caring for the wounded, General Lacey fell back to the north bank of the Neshaminy above the Cross Roads, now Hartsville. The captured baggage was taken to Philadelphia and sold, the proceeds being divided among the soldiers of the expedition, yielding about a dollar to each man.

The British are charged with extreme cruelty to our wounded at the Crooked Billet, which I fain would disbelieve for the sake of humanity and the credit of the English name,

but the evidence is conclusive, and the witnesses unimpeached. In a field on the Craven farm, and near the county line, was a large pile of buckwheat straw. Garret Krewson, a respectable man, living in the neighborhood, says several of our fatigued militiamen crept into this straw about sunrise; that a Tory told the British, and they set fire to the straw while our men were asleep. Some were burned to death, and others so badly burned they died shortly afterward. Several of our wounded, who had crept into the straw for shelter, were likewise burned by the enemy. General Lacey in a letter to General Armstrong, under date of May 7, writes:

"Many of the unfortunates, who fell into the merciless hands of the British, were cruelly and inhumanly butchered. Some were set on fire with buckwheat straw, and others had their clothes burned on their backs. Some of the surviving sufferers say they saw the enemy set fire to the wounded while they were yet alive, but struggled to put it out, but were too weak, and expired under the torture. I saw those lying in the buckwheat straw; they made a most melancholy appearance. Others, I saw, who, after being wounded by a ball, had received near a dozen wounds with cutlasses and bayonets. I can find as many witnesses to the proof of these cruelties as there were people on the spot, and that was no small number who came as spectators."

After the British returned from pursuit of the Americans, they visited several houses, mainly in quest of something to eat. There was little plundering, but general consternation prevailed. A small party went to the dwelling of David Marple, an aged man, grandfather of the late Colonel David Marple, and ordered the family to catch and cook the chickens for them. They were not allowed even to spare the setting hens on their nests. The conduct of the enemy was not as bad as is generally witnessed on similar occasions.

In my boyhood the old people of the neighborhood were full of incidents connected with the battle; I listened to their recitals with intense interest, and treasured them up with the greatest care. Captain Baird, an officer in the action, and, I believe, a witness of the affair, said the last British soldier was killed in a wood on the south side of the Bristol road just above what was then known as "Hart's Corner." He was

chasing a militiaman named Vandyke, and had snapped one of his pistols at him. The latter, in his alarm, forgot he was carrying a loaded musket, and was in a fair way of getting a bullet through his head. As the dragoon was about drawing his second pistol, Vandyke thought of his musket, and, taking deliberate aim at the soldier, shot him dead, when, mounting his horse, he rejoined his retreating comrades.

Stephen Beans, father of the late Robert Beans, related substantially the same story, as told him by a son of Thomas Craven, who said he saw a trooper shot near a wood on the John Mentz farm, and within sight of the Craven homestead. He was leading his father's horses to the wood to conceal them, when he saw a militiaman rest his gun on a fence, aim at his pursuer, and shoot him from his horse; that the horse—dun colored, with a black stripe down his back—ran to his horses, was caught by him, and taken by the militiamen, who mounted and rode away. Mr. Beans related another incident that occurred under his own observation. His parents lived at the old Beans homestead opposite the lane of Harman, now Stephen Yerkes, on the Street road. All the men being absent, either with the militia or hiding the stock, his mother took him, then a small boy, down to the Yerkes house, which then consisted of the small end of the present building. During Lacey's retreat a tired militiaman came into the room; said he was closely pursued and wanted to hide under the bed that stood in a corner of the room. The women advised him not to do so, telling him there was a heap of straw in the Beans' barnyard, where he could more safely conceal himself.

He went out the back door, and, by keeping the house between him and his pursuers, reached the straw without being seen. The enemy, four in number, soon entered the house, and demanded where the militiaman was concealed. They refused to accept a denial that he was there, and proceeded to search for themselves, jabbing into the very bed in which the militiaman wanted to hide. He returned after a while and thanked the women for his deliverance, saying his pursuers walked over the straw in which he was concealed, and came near bayoneting him. Mr. Beans related this inci-

dent in the same room which he saw the militiaman and his British pursuers enter. He also stated that some of the Americans who were killed were buried on the Parry farm, near the Quaker meeting-house. The last American is said to have been killed while sitting on the fence on the north side of the Bristol road at the end of the road that runs across from Johnsonville. He and a man named Cooper retreated along this road together, and were sitting on the fence resting before entering the timber. Just then a couple of British dragoons, who were pursuing them, raised the little hill beyond where General William W. White lived, and, seeing the two militiamen, one of them fired and Cooper's companion was killed. The blood stains remained on the fence many years.

At that time two men lived in the neighborhood named VanBuskirk; both had the title of Captain, one a Whig, the other a Tory. The British only knew the Whig, whom they had long been anxious to arrest. During the burning of the buckwheat straw, the neighbors collected, and among them the Tory Captain. Hearing him called by name, a British officer asked him if he were Captain VanBuskirk; he answered "Yes," probably expecting a compliment for his services to King George, but he was arrested instead. He said he was not the Captain VanBuskirk they wanted, and asserted his loyalty, but it availed nothing. The neighbors looked smilingly on, thinking it a good joke. He was taken to Philadelphia, thrown into prison and kept there until some one vouched for his loyalty. He was then liberated and apologies made, but this did not heal the wound. Ever after he was as good a Whig as was his namesake. The medicine effected a cure.

Soon after Simcoe turned into the cross-road at Lloyd's Corner on his way to the Billet, he halted to get a guide from the old house on the Kelley farm. A young man put his head out of a window and was ordered to dress and come down; and was then threatened with death if he did not show them the way. This he agreed to do if they would give him their fastest horse to ride so he could escape should the "rebels" attempt to capture him. They mounted him on one of their fleetest horses, and, watching his opportunity, put whip

to it and escaped. The enemy fired at him, but this only increased his speed. This was told me by the late Judge William Watts, when I was a boy; he saw the escaped guide, without hat or coat, riding at the top of his speed, about daylight in the morning, across the breast of the Davisville mill dam.

One of Simcoe's officers left his horse at Isaac Boileau's on the county line in charge of a negro, threatening him with punishment if he let the "rebels" have it, and hastened across the fields with his command. After a while a militiaman came along and compelled the negro to give him the horse, which he mounted and rode off. After the fighting was over the officer returned, and flew into a great rage on finding his horse gone. The alarmed negro explained it as well as he could, but this did not satisfy the Englishman; the slave was arrested and taken along, but released after going a few miles. This was related to me by an eye-witness.

Isaac Tompkins, a small boy at the time, was living with his parents in the old Fretz building, and had a distinct recollection of the day. He had just gotten up, about sunrise, when his sister, who had been sent into the garden to plant cucumber seed, came running into the house, shouting "the British are coming," and, on looking out, he saw a body of red-coated dragoons marching up the road. They were part of Abercrombie's command which came across from Horsham meeting-house and attacked Lacey in front.

Nathan Marple, father of the late Colonel David Marple, was then a boy of about sixteen, and lived with his father at the Billet. He heard firing in the morning, and, supposing, Lacey's men were getting ready to drill, started across the fields to go to them. He had not gone far, however, when he saw the British dragoons riding across a field toward the camp; they wore cloaks which concealed their red coats. He took warning at what he saw, and returned home. He further related that he saw an officer ride some distance in front of his men, halt, rise up in his stirrups and look around as if reconnoitering. He immediately heard the report of a gun,

and saw the officer fall to the ground, when the horse wheeled round and cantered back to the company.

Nearly forty years ago, Safety Maghee, of Northampton township, Bucks county, then in his ninety-sixth year, related to me the following as his recollection of events connected with the battle of the Crooked Billet. He said:

"In 1778 I was living with my uncle, Thomas Folwell, in Southampton township where Horatio Gates Yerkes lives (now Cornell Hobensack's on the road from Davisville to Southampton Baptist meeting-house). On the morning of the battle of the Billet, I heard the firing very distinctly, and a black man named Harry and myself concluded we would go and see what was going on. I was then about 13 years old. We started from the house and went directly toward where the firing was. When we came near where Johnsville stands, we heard a volley there which brought us to a halt. The firing was in the wood. The British were in pursuit of our militia and chased them along the road from Johnsville to the Bristol road, and also through the fields from the street, to the Bristol road. They overtook the militia in the woods near the Street road. When the firing ceased we continued on and found three wounded militiamen near the wood; they appeared to have been wounded by a sword and were much cut and hacked. When we got to them they were groaning greatly. They died in a little while and I understood were buried on the spot. They appeared to be Germans. We then passed on, and in a field nearby we saw two horses lying dead; they were British; one of them was shot in the head, and the gun had been put so near the head it was scorched. While we were on the field, Harry picked up a cartouch box that had been dropped or torn off the wearer. Shortly after we met some of the militia returning, and when they saw the black fellow with the cartouch box they became very much enraged; accused him of robbing the dead, and took it away from him. These dead horses were on the farm of Colonel Hart, now the property of Comly Walker. Soon after this we returned home."

The late Jonathan Delaney, of Warminster, used to relate the following circumstance he witnessed. He was living at the time at Frankford, through which one detachment of the British passed on their return to the city. Among the prisoners was an old man who wore on his shoes a pair of large silver buckles. They attracted the attention of a soldier

while marching along the street, who left the ranks and stooped down to pull them off. The old man, who was not disposed to be thus robbed of his property, struck the would-be thief on the head with his fist and knocked him down; the other soldiers, who witnessed the act, giving a loud shout in approval of the prisoner's courage.

The news of the battle soon spread over the country, and many of the inhabitants were so much alarmed they would not venture from home until assured the British had returned to the city. A child of Samuel Flack, who kept the tavern at Doylestown where the Fountain House stands, had previously died, and was to be buried on that day at Neshaminy; but the alarm was such only four persons would venture with the corpse to the place of burial. These were two young men and a couple of young women; one of the latter being a Miss Mary Doyle, afterward Mrs. Mitchell and mother of the late Mrs. Nathaniel Cornell, of Doylestown. They were all mounted, the men being armed, one of them carrying the coffin. They rode the fastest horses they could get, so they might be able to escape should the enemy pursue them. When they reached the burying-ground, the two young men dismounted and buried the corpse, the two young women remaining on horseback ready to fly at the first alarm. This sad duty discharged the young men remounted, and they all rode home as rapidly as possible. They could see the smoke from the burning buckwheat straw.

A few days after the battle General Lacey ordered a general court martial to try the officers of his scouts and patrols for disobedience and neglect of duty on the morning of the attack. It met at camp on the Neshaminy, May 4, with Colonel Smith president, and William Findley, afterward Governor of the state, Judge Advocate. Lieutenant Neilson was found guilty and dismissed the service, but Ensign Laughlin was acquitted and ordered to rejoin his regiment. The court tried a number of citizens and soldiers for various offences, holding intercourse with the enemy, etc., etc. Some were found guilty and sentenced to be whipped, others to be confined in the Lancaster county jail.

General Lacey was subjected to severe, and unjust, criticism for the affair at the Crooked Billet, and especially by those hostile to the cause of the Colonies. The attempt to hold him responsible for the reverse he met signally failed, and his conduct received the approval of his superiors. His situation was a critical one, and only the coolest judgment and most determined courage of himself and men saved him from the capture of his entire force. He took the necessary precaution to obtain the earliest information of the approach of the enemy and prevent surprise, but his orders were disobeyed. His actions will bear the closest scrutiny. His camp of 400 men was surprised and nearly surrounded; he had raw militia, the enemy were veterans inured to war. Practically, he cut his way out with the small loss of some 35 killed and wounded and a few prisoners. He had to march across an open country most of the distance, fighting every foot of the way, the enemy pressing him at the same time in front and rear and on both flanks. I am astonished he was able to extricate himself at all from his perilous situation; and it seems quite like a miracle he did not fall into the enemy's hands with his entire force. His action was so highly appreciated by the Executive Council of the state, that the Secretary wrote General Lacey on May 16: "Your conduct is highly approved; and your men have justly acquired great reputation by their bravery."

In conclusion, I present a new and interesting incident connected with the battle of the Crooked Billet, and although I had known of it for several years, I only received it in writing on the 13th inst. It came to me in a letter from the Rev. R. W. Luther, D. D., dated Newark, N. J., July 12, 1894. He writes:

"My grandfather, James Luther, was at the Crooked Billet with his brother, William. At the surprise he and his brother were encamped some little distance away from the main body of our troops, with several others guarding a wagon in which was the camp chest with \$800 in silver, together with papers, orders, etc. At some period he was Quartermaster of the Flying Camp, and, from the fact that this money was committed to him, he was probably acting in a similar capacity at this time. This is only conjecture.

"After the surprise, and during the confusion, he and his guard started to escape with the wagon and contents, intending to get to Valley Forge. They laid down a panel of fence and tried to reach a piece of woods near by. They had crossed two fields, when, suddenly over the brow of a hill, a company of about seventy British horsemen appeared and rode down and surrounded them. The guard offered what defence they could, especially my grand-uncle William, but soon were forced to surrender. Attracted by the shouts of soldiers when they discovered the money, a group of British officers rode up. As they approached, a trooper was cutting at my grand-uncle, who was disarmed, but sheltering himself by seizing the trooper's bridle and dodging under the horse's head. The trooper was enraged by the defence made. As the group of officers rode up, a young officer called out, "Has the man surrendered?" The other troopers answered, "He has, my Lord." The young officer ordered the trooper to desist, and when he still cut at my grand-uncle, paying no attention to the order, the officer drew a pistol and shot him off his horse. My grand-uncle, who was severely wounded, was placed in the saddle, and the whole party were taken to the tavern.

"My grandfather said that so long as they were with the British regulars they had good treatment, but the next day, being put in charge of some Tories, they were stripped of most of their clothing and their shoes, and all their valuables. When they were going into Philadelphia, the Tories congregated at a tavern, threw bottles in the road, compelling them to walk over the broken glass. My grandfather and his brother were taken to New York; afterward were exchanged, and William died on the return tramp, from hardship and privations in the prisons.

"My grandfather returned to the village of Concord in what is now Franklin county, Pa., to recruit men for his company, and there commanded the force which rescued the village from an attack of Tories and Indians. Subsequently he served during the war.

"I have given you, my dear General, this account as I have heard it many times from my father, he hearing it from my grandfather and his fellow soldiers. Grandfather survived until 1826."

[Read before the Inter-County Historical Meeting at Hatboro, Montgomery County, Pa., July 17, 1894, by General Davis.]

[Hatboro was formerly called the Crooked Billet, or the "Billet," from a tavern there of that name having a crooked stick of wood or billet on its sign.]

PETER LEGAUX,

A NOTED FRENCHMAN WHO SETTLED AT SPRING MILL IN 1786.

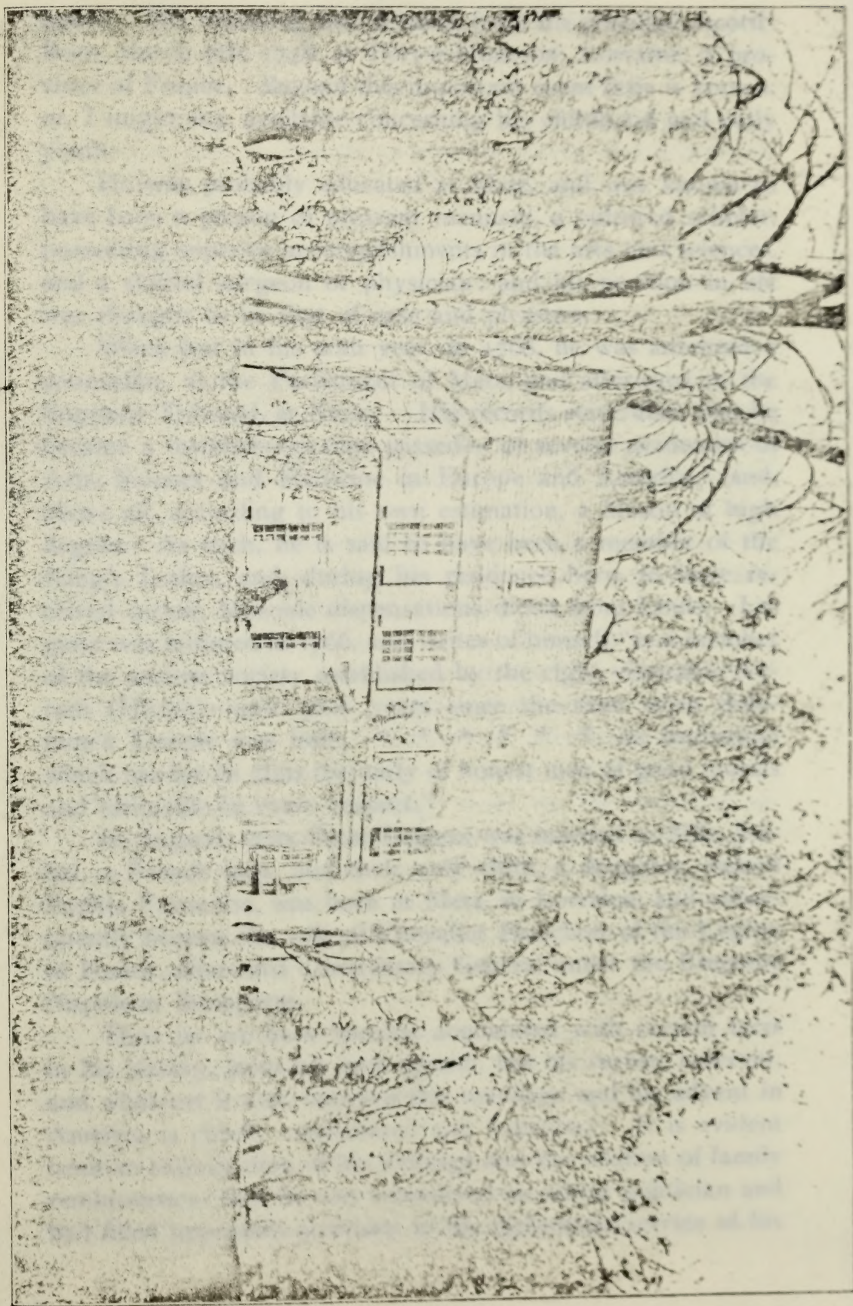
BY S. GORDON SMYTH.

From my home, perched high among the Merion hills, I look out upon the beautiful valley of Whitemarsh, rolling away toward the east. Beyond its bright landscapes, now aglow with the breath of spring, the view extends to the crowning summit of Barren Hill, where St. Peter's tapering spire points to the future hope of man's immortality; and there, in the shadow of the old Lutheran church, now nearly seventy years since, they laid away, among the strangely carved and ancient tombs all that was mortal of Peter Legaux, surgeon and scientist, and friend of the state, a citizen of this county.

It was toward the close of the last century when this man came from beyond the sea—from La Belle France—and settled in Montgomery county. His was one of the most unique of the many peculiar characters that have ever been attracted to our cosmopolitan shores.

At this time France was showing unmistakable signs of monarchical dissolution. Louis XVI, with his Queen, Marie Antoinette, ruled from the Bourbon throne, and incidentally, a youth, Napoleon Bonaparte, was a military student at Paris. This "Sun," of the firmament of France, as Louis was popularly called, was, even now, perceptibly waning, and the radiance of his reign was rapidly clouding with the gathering shadows of the coming dark and portentous events.

Among the bright youths who thronged about the court of this elegant monarch to bask in the royal presence, 'tis said, was Pierre Legaux, a cadet, of one of the best families in the



LEGAUX MANSION.

realm. The following fact is taken from his personal record: Born March 7th, 1748, at Port-a-Mousson, Lorraine, a province of France. Beyond this important event little is known, or, I might say, available concerning his childhood and early youth.

He was probably educated at Metz, and was known to have been a person of pleasant manners, a cultured scholar, possessing superior accomplishments in the arts and sciences, and a skillful surgeon or physician; and his position in life was thought to be that of ease and pleasure.

When but in his 20th year, in 1768, he was admitted a counsellor, at the Parliament of Metz, and afterward to the Supreme Tribunal, at Nancy. His records state, also, that he became a member—as time passed—"of several academies of Arts, Science and Medicine in Europe and America," and, above all, according to his own estimation, a Mason of high degree. As such, he is said to have been a member of the King's Lodge, and, during his residence here, to have received certain Masonic dispensations direct from Louis. Legaux was initiated in 1766, and writes of himself "as a member of the ancient society established by the right venerable Ayram (Hiram)—now 5826 years since the time when Solomon's Temple was built, * * * * * an institution which has for its aims the unity of honest men of good morals and estimable in every respect."

In August, 1770, Peter Legaux was married to Mlle. Jerbal, a French lady, and their only child, a daughter, named Sophia Françoise, was born at Metz, in Lorraine, and subsequently became the wife of Chevalier Pauchott of the Legion of Honor, afterward Commissary General under the Emperor Napoléon Bonaparte.

Thus far we have become acquainted with certain facts in his history, from his own record; but his career, however, and whatever it was, between this marriage and his advent in America is chiefly conjectured and legendary. It is evident from an examination of his writings and the relation of family reminiscences that he was considered an adroit politician and had filled important positions in the diplomatic service of his

sovereign; as to these latter points, unfortunately, the mist of vague and uncertain tradition envelops its mysteries about him, but the elements of romance are not wanting.

For a time, he was believed to have been Governor of Martinique, then a French possession among the islands of the Carribean Sea; and afterward, according to the authority of Brissot de Warville, a notable of the National Assembly of France, and also, an old friend of Legaux's, a Royal Commissioner, or something of the sort at Guadaloupe, another of the French West Indies, but somehow "he became a victim to the perfidy of the government intendant there, who, to suppress proof of his own complicity in a clandestine commerce, sought to destroy Legaux by imprisonment, assassination and poison." From these persecutions he escaped, first returning to France and from thence to this more pacific and hospitable land.

Legaux at once entered into harmonious relations with our principles by adopting our language, customs and manner of life; and so much admiring the liberality of our laws, and the freedom of our institutions, that he decided to remain here and become a citizen. Having thus determined, he sent back to France all his jewels, decorations and needless court paraphernalia, observing "that in democratic America these things were useless and unbecoming."

This "gentleman of France" took up his residence in Philadelphia, where, at this time, were colonized a number of his more or less wealthy and distinguished compatriots, among whom his reputation had preceded, creating for him an enviable position. We were then—as a nation—just upon the dawn of our new liberties, which but a few years before had been successfully wrested from the mother-country. Among these factors of that history-making epoch, Legaux was cordially welcomed, and therein, associating himself with men and matters, closely identified with the public affairs of the day.

Mr. Legaux was reputed to be wealthy. He spent his money freely, if not lavishly, and with the ease and grace of refinement mingled much in the best society, where his abili-

ties were recognized; and then, being adorned with a charming personality, he was delightfully received wherever he went.

It was one of Legaux's conspicuous traits to be a close observer, from whom not the slightest detail could possibly escape. Our country charmed him and its climate captivated his very soul, I might say. He traveled extensively and the while studied carefully the elements of our future greatness. The various characteristics of the soil claimed his attention, and the naturalist noted incidentally the growth and prolific fruitage of the wild grape, a vine so common about our waysides and woodlands. Intuitively he saw a chance of its adaptation and development into a profitable branch of agricultural industry.

The utility of the wild grape had been tried before, though unsuccessfully; but to the man of science, nature was supposed to yield, and with his keen perception he sought to perfect a plan of introducing viniculture into this country based on the natural success of the native vine, and claiming, perhaps reasonable enough, in the light of modern experience, that wines, equal to those of France's most famous brands, could be as well produced here as abroad, provided, of course, that proper skill was applied in their culture, and, too, at much less expense than foreign wines cost by importation.

With this idea dominant in his mind, Legaux bought, in December, 1786, from Major Augustine Prevost, an estate of two hundred and six acres, on the Schuylkill river, at Spring Mill, Penna. Aside from the purposes of this purchaser, the home he had now selected was one of more than passing interest, for previous to 1690 it had formed a part of the possessions of Major Jasper Farmer, whose 5000 acres spread through the length of the Whitemarsh valley, and adjoined the great plantation of Nicholas Scull, Penn's Indian interpreter and surveyor, farther north. It was a portion of "Springet-burg," so called in honor of Penn's wife, whose maiden name was "Guilema Maria Springet." From this land this had become detached in a tract of 513 acres, which the Provincial Commissioners deeded to William Markham, subsequently

Deputy Governor, and from him, in 1697, the property passed to David Williams, a Welsh farmer and miller; he it was, it is thought, who, while owning the land, erected the famous mill which is now and has been, all these years, in active operation there. The date of its building is approximately fixed at 1715, for at that time the records show that Reese Williams, the eldest son of David, leased the mills and $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres of ground (presumably the water right) to Robert Jones and Anthony Morris, who afterward became the owners—Mr. Morris, the latter possessor.

The theory is here advanced that while Anthony Morris was the owner of the estate, the fine old stone mansion, still standing there, was built; and *not* by Robert Morris, "the financier" of the Revolution, as had been thought and generally believed. This was probably about the year 1735. A careful examination into the published life of this distinguished person and the searching over of a long list of possessions (he had an inventory which is on file at the Pennsylvania Historical Society) fail to show that Robert Morris ever was in any way connected with it. If erected in 1735 or about that time it may be conclusively stated that Robert Morris was then only 1 year of age. The house was standing and known as John Morris's when the Court of Quarter Sessions, sitting at Philadelphia, September 2, 1751, ordered the opening of a new road "from Gwynedd meeting-house to John Morris's mill." I grieve to rob the old mansion of this pretty traditional halo, but it may be none the less noteworthy, since it had become the home of the subject of my sketch.

When Anthony Morris disposed of this property to John Morris, a certain reservation was made in the deed of a frontage on the river, in which navigation privileges were vested. This is the clause: "Excepting and reserving, nevertheless, the free and uninterrupted liberty of exporting and importing any goods, merchandise and lumber, from, and into the said river Schuylkill, and passing and repassing with carts and carriages or otherwise across and along that one perch and a half wide strip of land, on the banks of the Schuylkill, to and from the lands of David Jones and Joseph Paul respectively, and the

right and liberty to come up and down with boats and canoes the aforesaid Spring Mill stream, over the aforesaid small strip of land, from the Spring Mills and Schuylkill river, which liberties the said John Potts and Margaret, his wife, by the above-mentioned indenture (agreed) between them and the said David Jones."

In the course of its descent, the plantation of Spring Mill passed from the ownership of George Mifflin to that of Col. Samuel Miles, in 1773. Col. Miles was a valiant Revolutionary officer. He had raised the second company of Pennsylvania militia from among the residents of Whitemarsh, and he and they served with distinction in the war. Col. Miles owned the farm about 10 years, removing thence to Cheltenham, where he had previously secured another property. While a resident of the latter place, he became Captain of the First City Troop of Philadelphia, in 1786, and so continued for five years, when he resigned.

Abel James next succeeded in the possession of the Spring Mill property, and he, in turn, was followed by Major Prevost, from whom it passed, in 1786, to Peter Legaux.

That we may more fully familiarize ourselves with the subject before us, I wish to show the origin of the name "Spring Mill," as applied to this locality.

Spring Mill derives its name from a group of wonderful bubbling or boiling springs, located a short distance back from the river, among a grove of oak and willow trees. They are numerous scattered over perhaps half an acre of meadow, and are of various sizes. These pools form little shallow lagoons, but connected with each other by deep, winding channels, presently uniting in a larger volume of water, and then flowing away toward the river. The theory is, that there is a large body or current of water confined under pressure in some subterranean cavern, and being obstructed and thus pent up, by following the line of least resistance is forcefully emitted upon the surface in the manner described. A stranger passing that way, not knowing of their existence, sees a fine, large stream, with its rapid current, and naturally assumes that its sources must be miles away; but, in fact, in less than

one-fourth of a mile from its mysterious outlet, it pours over the great overshot wheel of the famous mill at the riverside.

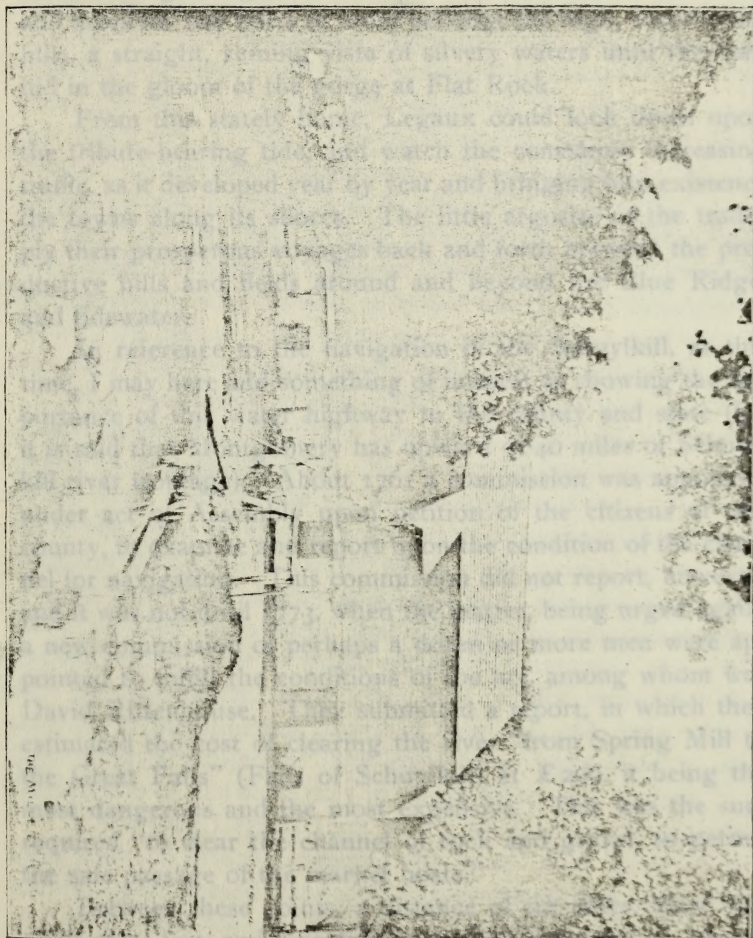
This mill, by incidental notice, has stood for almost two centuries, fearing neither flood, nor drought, frost nor heat, creaking, and groaning, and tottering, as it were, upon the edge of impending ruin, yet grinding out the grist for the few farmers that still find a fruitful return in the narrowing sphere of husbandry which exists in the neighborhood.

The plantation acquired by Legaux was composed of three isolated tracts of land, varying in size, and widely separated. One contained 116 acres, which was the hill on the west bank of the river, in what is now Lower Merion township. This ground was well wooded; then came "Mt. Joy," the home tract, presumably so called by Col. Miles. This piece contained about 64 acres; upon this was the residence and principal buildings. Then last came the smaller plot of 25 acres beside the river, with its long tongue or strip, twenty-five feet wide, extending several hundred yards up and along the river margin, thus protecting his shore line. This was also the site of the shad fishery, as it was of the ferry and shipping operations, as elsewhere noted in the conveyance of title.

The farm "mansion," as the dwelling was called in those days, is still standing and is now occupied by a descendant of Peter Legaux. It is an excellent, well preserved example of the colonial period, two and a half stories high, very large (42x50) in size and spacious within. In building the native rectangular Edge Hill stone were used, laid in uniform courses with neatly struck joints, thus giving it a decidedly solid appearance. The roof is a double slope, or "hip" roof, finishing off at the eave in a broad projecting cornice. Extending around the entire house between the first and second stories was a wide "pent" eve, a feature so common in the earlier dwellings. This adornment was removed by Legaux in the course of an expensive alteration which followed the purchase of the property.

The mansion and garden of "Mt. Joy" were pleasantly located on a slight eminence a short distance from the river, but

nearly a hundred feet above the water level, and the view from it is very impressive and extensive. The Schuylkill at this point comes swiftly down from the northwest along the base of the Edge Hill range, which here extends across and beyond the river into the Merions. Sweeping around the sharp curve, almost at right angles to its course, it bears toward the south



MILL AT SPRING MILL.

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From this stately home, Legaux could look down upon the tribute-bearing tide, and watch the constantly increasing traffic, as it developed year by year and bringing into existence the towns along its shores. The little argosies of the trader ply their prosperous voyages back and forth between the productive hills and fields around and beyond the Blue Ridge, and tidewater.

In reference to the navigation of the Schuylkill, at this time, I may here add something of interest as showing the importance of this water highway to the county and state (for it is said that Montgomery has upward of 40 miles of Schuylkill river frontage). About 1761 a commission was appointed under act of Assembly upon petition of the citizens of this county, to examine and report upon the condition of the channel for navigation. This commission did not report, however, and it was not until 1773, when the matter, being urged again, a new commission of perhaps a dozen or more men were appointed to fulfill the conditions of the act, among whom was David Rittenhouse. They submitted a report, in which they estimated the cost of clearing the river "from Spring Mill to the Great Falls" (Falls of Schuylkill) at £290, it being the most dangerous and the most expensive. This was the sum required "to clear the channel of rock and gravel, to permit the safe passage of the market boats."

Between these points, a distance of six miles, there was a fall of 24 feet, and a portion of the trip consisted of "shooting" the rapids at Flat Rock, which was a menacing if not a perilous undertaking at times and often attended with exciting experiences.

Spring Mill has another peculiar interest for us. As long ago as the year 1797, Dr. Benjamin Franklin, in reviewing the sanitary condition of Philadelphia, and its manifest needs, recommended the introduction of water works. The idea was promptly taken up and acted upon; a large and influential petition was presented to Council and favorably considered. Among the various schemes suggested there were three particularly noticeable; one plan involved "the completion of the canal intended to unite the waters of the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers," which had been actually started near Norristown, but afterward abandoned. Another plan was "*to conduct the waters of Spring Mill, 15 miles N. N. W. of Phil.*"; and the third was "to make a large reservoir on the banks of the Schuylkill, to receive a sufficient quantity of water, convey it by tunnel to Centre Square, raise and distribute it throughout the city by pipes." The latter plan was adopted, and thus it became the original water supply system of the now great city.

The Legislature of this state, upon his petition in 1787, passed an act enabling Peter Legaux to equip and maintain a public ferry at Spring Mill. He owned the land on both sides of the river, and also the inn on the western shore. Both of these had been in existence for many years previous to this time, but the ferry was carried on in a very indifferent fashion. A condition of his charter stipulated that "the said Peter Legaux, his heirs and assigns, shall provide and maintain a good and substantial boat or boats, and careful ferrymen who shall duly and constantly, as occasion may require, attend for the purpose of transporting travellers over the said river, which ferry shall be subject to such rules (and) regulations as the Legislature of this state may in future direct and appoint."

At the time Legaux took up his residence at Spring Mill there were no bridges spanning the river. Flat Rock bridge was not erected until 1810, and at Norristown not until 1828, and at Conshohocken at a much later period.

The Schuylkill was crossed both above and below with a number of ferries and fords, but that of Spring Mill was considered one of the oldest and most important. It was the shipping point of the marble product of the Whitemarsh val-

ley and an outlet for the farming community to the river transportation. The ferry provided easy access for the farmers of the adjoining townships to reach the mill, then operated by Joseph Paul, and later for a long period by Thomas Livezey, during Legaux's later days. The descendants of the Swedish and Welsh settlers on the one side and the German element on the other found here neutral territory and a common convenience for the milling and marketing of their cereal products. In the course of time Spring Mill became one of the most populous and prosperous villages in Whitemarsh. The Conshohockens, at the site of Matson's Ford, did not come into existence until upwards of half a century later, from the date of Legaux's genesis. The ferry did a prosperous business, and the owner, Legaux, reported having received above £40 in one year from receipts. The inn opposite flourished, but was yet to see its most prosperous days in the era of the Schuylkill navigation, when it became the stopping place at the end of the first day's journey of the packet, en route to Reading. While I am upon the subject relating to the inn I will quote an advertisement which appeared in the Norristown Register, dated December 29th, 1803, which Dr. Reed kindly copied for me for the purposes of this paper. The property was then owned by John McConkey.

VALUABLE PROPERTY

FOR SALE.

The subscriber offers for sale, that old, and well established, Spring-Mill Tavern and Ferry situate in Montgomery County, 13 miles from Philadelphia, four from Lancaster turnpike and four from Norristown. — The house is new large and commodious, 35x18 ft., containing several rooms on the first and second floors, a large dining room basement (?) and kitchen under the whole, with piazza in front. Several new sheds have been lately erected, also a fish-house sufficient to contain a number of fish, an ice-house, together with many other conveniences which renders it a most excellent situation for a tavern or store. There are $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land of a superior quality; also, 100 peach and apple trees.

The advantage which the ferry has over any other on the river Schuylkill, within several miles, is well known. It is

not fordable at any season of the year. A commodious ferry-house has been lately built. There are two floats, one is quite new, with every necessary apparatus complete.

A further description of the above property is unnecessary, as any person disposed to purchase will first take a view of it. Some cash will be required in advance, a considerable credit will be given for the residue.

An indisputable title will be given. Possession may be had on the first day of April next.

For further particulars may be known on application to the subscriber living on said place.

JOHN MECONKEY.

Norristown Register, December 29, 1803.

The vicissitudes of this tavern, both as a ferry house and a picnic resort, were numerous. Passing through a number of ownerships, it has come at last into the possession of the Philadelphia and Reading Railway Company, and is fast approaching final obliteration. While a portion of it is still tenanted, the remainder began long ago to fall into neglect, until now it has become, literally and absolutely, a tumbling ruin, a perishing reminder, like the stage coach of the day of primitive American travel.

To return to our French patrician, we find that he was not idle. He had noticed the prospect of a greater prosperity in the future of the valley, and promptly began the improvement of his estate, part of which was the construction of number of vaults, extending them even under the garden. This was done in anticipation of the wine storage. The gardens were laid in terraces. A lime kiln was built, and burning began, as an abundance of stone was found in the vicinity. In this he carried on a profitable business in shipping it to the city. He stocked his fields with superior grades of cattle and sheep and started his scheme of viniculture by setting out several acres of ground with vines, and to the cultivation and development of these all other products and sources of revenue were subsidiary. He caused new roads to be opened in his neighborhood, and in other ways sought to increase the advantages that nature had provided for the community by a liberal application of his wealth and the exercise of his practical abilities.

The enterprising spirit of Peter Legaux was constantly employed. His vine scheme began to get a footing from the encouragement of well known and influential citizens of Philadelphia and the counties adjacent, and in due season a vineyard after the fashion of those in France flourished on the sunny slopes about Spring Mill, and soon attracted the attention of the country.

In September, 1788, M. Brissot de Warville, an eminent French citizen, while on a tour through the states, visited his friend and countryman at the vineyard.

In the published account, de Warville, after reciting his visit to the General Assembly, then in session at Philadelphia, and afterward of his entertainment at the home of the speaker, Gen. Mifflin, at the Falls of Schuylkill, relates how he continued up the river to Spring Mill, "where the best house in the place was that of a Frenchman." Then he goes on to describe what he saw while there, from which I will quote some interesting items.

"Mr. Legaux's house enjoys the most sublime prospect that you can imagine. It is situated on a hill on the southeast. The Schuylkill flows at its feet through a magnificent channel between two mountains, covered with wood. On the banks you perceive some scattering houses and cultivated fields. I shall give you some details respecting this Frenchman's farm. They will show you the manner of living among cultivators here, and they may be useful to many of our friends who may wish to establish themselves in this country. Observations on the manner of extending ease and happiness among men, are, in the eyes of the philosopher, as valuable as those which teach the art of assassinating them. The house of Mr. P. Legaux is well built in stone, two stories high, with five or six chambers on each floor. From the two gardens, formed like an amphitheatre, you enjoy that fine prospect above mentioned. These gardens are well cultivated and contain a great quantity of bee hives. An highway separates the house from the farm. He keeps about 20 horned cattle and ten or twelve horses. The situation of things on the farm proves how little is to be feared from theft or robbery in this country; everything is left open, or enclosed without locks. His farm consists of two hundred and fifty acres, of which the greater part is in wood. * * * * * He pays from five to six pounds taxes for all his property, consisting of an hundred and twenty

acres of woodland, eighty acres of arable, twenty-five acres of meadow, three acres of garden, a great house, several small houses for his servants, his barns and his cattle. By this fact you may judge of the exaggeration of the detractors of the United States, on the subject of taxes. Compare this with what would be paid in France for a like property.

"Mr. Legaux has attempted to cultivate the vine; he has planted a vineyard near his home, on the southeast exposure, and it succeeds very well. It is a remark to be made at every step in America, that vegetation is rapid and strong. The peach tree, for example, grows fast and produces fruit in great quantities. Within a month after you have cut your wheat, you would not know your field; it is covered with grass very high and very thick.

"It will be a long time, however, before the wine can be cultivated to profit in America; first, because labor is dear and the vine requires vast labor; secondly, because the wines of Europe will be for a long time cheap in America.

"Mr. Legaux furnished me with a proof of this. He gave me some very good Roussillon, which cost him by the single bottle only 18 pence, and I know that this same wine at first hand cost five-pence or six-pence. I have already mentioned that the pasture and fields in America are enclosed with barriers of wood, or fences. These, when made of rails, supported by posts, as above described, are expensive, especially in the neighborhood of great towns, where wood is dear. Mr. Legaux thinks it best to replace them with ditches five feet deep, of which he throws the earth upon his meadows, and borders the sides with hedges, and thus rendered the passage impracticable to the cattle. This is an agricultural operation which cannot be too much recommended to the Americans.

"I saw his vast corn fields covered with pumpkins, which are profitable for cattle. He has a joiner-shop and a turning lathe. He makes great quantities of lime on his farm. * * * * * He has a ferry on the Schuylkill and is now about to build a saw mill. This farm had cost him, and he assured me, allowing nothing for his losses occasioned by ignorance of the country and the language on his first arrival, and for the improvements he has made—his land produces more than the interest of his money. He told me that the house alone had cost more than he paid for the whole; and this is very probable. * * * * * Though distant from society and struggling against many disadvantages, he assured me he was happy. He thinks there is no great difference between the climate here and that of Paris," and so on.

Our French citizen became noted not only for his eminent ingeniousness and diversified abilities, but as much, also, for his hospitality. "Mt. Joy" was often the resort of distinguished men, attracted thither by his scholarly attainments, or by the experiments he frequently made. Legaux enjoyed the companionship of Jefferson, Citizen Genet, Judge Tighlman and a host of other notables of Philadelphia and surrounding country. The Audubons, for instance, who were themselves conspicuous in the world of natural science, and resided not far away, frequently visited at Spring Mill and shared with Legaux the homage of other men of genius and distinction.

Some time during the summer of 1787, in June, I think, the delegates appointed by the various states assembled in Philadelphia for the purpose of securing national unity. Out of this convention resulted the present Constitution, and under whose glorious and beneficent principles we live. Strangers from all sections of the country were present and many of them found their way to "Mt. Joy," as the guests of Peter Legaux. The illustrious General Washington, president of the convention, was among them. The following is Legaux's record of that event:

"July 22d, 1787. This day General Washington, General Mifflin, and four other members of the convention, did us the honor of paying us a visit, in order to see our vineyard and beehouses; in these they found great delight, made me a number of questions, and testified their highest approbation with my manner of managing bees, which gave me a great deal of pleasure." At the mansion General Washington and his party were royally entertained. An old deal table is shown by the family, which Legaux improvised to extend the capacity of his usual table. Other old furniture which was in the apartment upon this occasion have been, also, carefully preserved.

The tireless energy of Legaux found its greatest vent in active out-door pursuits. He continued to expend upon his loved farm and its surroundings the practical results of his masterful mind. His diversions were of great variety. In part he bestowed his attention to the development of his em-

bryo vineyard, and, also, in the embellishment of his home grounds and the gardens, for he was an enthusiastic cultivator of flowers and plants, and a delver in the mysteries of bee-keeping. His apiary was an extensive one. The hives all bore the imprint of his peculiar fancies in the naming of the different colonies with such classical titles as pertained to the character of the swarm; for instance, to a particularly strong colony he gave the name "Hercules." Others were "Hannibal," "Achilles," "Alexander," "Hector," "Dido," "Paris," and so on.

One feature of the daily life of this remarkable man was the constant routine he kept up, not only in the pursuit of meteorology, his favorite study, but in the study of the stellar system and the ordinary details of his farm work, and concerning all he kept a voluminous and accurate record.

He could manufacture for his own use such needful and ofttime delicate instruments that otherwise he would have been compelled to send to the scientific stores of London and Paris to duplicate. One room of the mansion was set apart for his laboratory, in which he also kept his various instruments and did his mathematical work. In this system he also instructed his family, more particularly his younger daughter; this enabled them in his absence (for he went regularly to Philadelphia each month to spend a few days at a time) to keep periodic and accurate accounts of his weather observations, a custom he had long before established. Out upon the terraces were his rain gauge, areometer, sun dial and an improvised meridian line, and such other essentials as were needful in the acquirement of his information. They will show you at the old house a peculiar brass sun dial of very delicate and ingenious Swiss workmanship, which was made to his order abroad.

The neighbors constantly came to him, bringing their time-pieces for adjustment, so reliable were his time measurements. For his own use he had two watches, one of which he used by day, the other by night.

When the purchase of "Mt. Joy" was completed and it was surveyed it is said that he was not satisfied with the re-

port made by John Hill, a well-known surveyor of that epoch, but for his self-satisfaction chained over the courses, measured the distances, taking his own levels, and eventually verified Hill's work. Were Mr. Legaux in want of certain articles of glassware for his laboratory, he produced a furnace, and made with his blowpipe what was required; and thus, in many ways, were the resources of his knowledge brought into practical service. In another room he had his joiner-shop and turning-lathe, and in the years of their infancy his grandchildren would ride upon the treadle while he was busily engaged in fashioning the work he had on hand. This room was also his library and his favorite retreat. It was in the southeast corner and looked out upon his gardens and bees and beyond, to the beautiful valley of the Schuylkill. It is said that this modern "Argus" would take his telescope and search the heavens by night, and in the busy hours of the day from a perch upon the housetop would scan the fields; and if detecting and identifying some tardy workman, he would, with the aid of a trumpet which he kept handy, speedily call the delinquent to a sense of his duty, in manner as much impressive as it was original; and so his methods were calculated to ascertain all that was transpiring, night or day, celestial as well as terrestrial.

By having a thorough knowledge of astronomy he knew well the phenomena of the heavenly bodies. A member of his family has related to me a circumstance that brought this acquirement into use. Legaux had become belated one night, in returning home from Norristown, and while traveling home through the darkness lost his way in the confusion of the paths in the forest; finding that he was wandering along an unknown way, he bethought him of his familiar constellations, and recognizing certain stars, adjusted his movements accordingly and soon emerged from the wood not far from his accustomed path, near his home.

I have stated that one of his most conspicuous traits was his fixed daily habits and his devotion to systematic methods. He kept a diary, a remarkable record which had been faithfully penned during the forty odd years of his residence in America. His plan was to note down at regular intervals the natural

phenomena of the day, with such remarks upon his observations as were needful or explanatory or unusual. In this record mention was made of the events as they transpired around him, and whether or not he was personally interested. It served as a register for his visitors and it chronicled the movements of his servants, what they did, how it was done, and the time required. The quarrels among his neighbors, the statement of marriages and deaths, in fact all the daily gossip of the community, or the happenings of the world outside, was never more sure of being recorded in this "Book of Fate" than if the Recording Angel had commanded it. Many of these journals are in possession of the family, and upon examination disclose very many important facts bearing upon the general history of that time. Among these chronicles, and singularly coincident with the extraordinary vagaries of the weather exhibited during the past month, I have found the following interesting entry in Legaux's characteristic language:

"June 30, 1816. Extraordinary cold for the season of the year, on the 9th, 10th and 11th (of the month) it frosted those days, and the ground was covered with snow, 1 ft. and 1 ft. $\frac{1}{2}$ deep, and the ground froze as if in December." * * * *

* * I believe that extraordinary cold may be attributed to the influence of the spots on the sun. Time will say."

It is necessary to state just here that in his diary for this year there are daily observations relating to the spots on the sun, the record of which extends nearly through the whole year. Legaux would draw a circle, or a number of them for each day, and plot in each the comparative size and their position and the number of spots seen at the different hours. In his remarks at the closing of the month of September, 1816, Legaux says: "It was impossible to see the sun for seven successive days, which I had not before experienced in 31 years I have been in this country. No vintage this year, because of the extraordinary frost; great many spots and very big ones on the sun the whole month."

October 14th of same year; says another entry, the contest for Gubernatorial honors being very close and exciting,

Legaux places upon record the way he settled upon a choice of candidates. He says: "To-day I threw dice as to whom I should vote—Mr. Heister or Mr. Finley—(result) Heister 4, Finley 2. I voted for Heister." Heister was elected.

According to another record in the journal for 1819, he was called in consultation by Dr. Benjamin Rush, with whom he was on intimate terms, in a case of a typhus fever patient, who resided somewhere near Plymouth Meeting. His diagnosis of the case is fully entered upon the page. At the close of that year there is, also, this remarkable intelligence:

"Dec. 31, 1819. Dry and cold. So dry as great many springs and all wells in this neighborhood (except his own) were dry and the people were obliged to come here to Spring Mill from six, seven and ten miles, every day for water provision. Wheat and grain fell to \$1.12½ per bushel. All the people in great distress for money—that object so rare and scarce; and so many bankruptcies and sales of places that the people do not know most what to do. No prevailing sickness here. The government and the people crying for money and help and they won't follow the good and prudential advice given to them every day by the editor of the first paper in the world, 'The Aurora' (published by B. Franklin's grandson), of Philadelphia, and by the energies of Brutus, one of his companions in learning."

Our friend Peter Legaux availed himself of the friendship of Thomas Jefferson to urge upon that statesman the necessity of recommending to Congress a tariff upon foreign wines, so that his infant industry might have the protection of government. I find no further reference to the matter in his subsequent records. I assume that the suggested tariff measure was never seriously considered.

On July 17th, 1787, Peter Legaux was elected to membership in the American Philosophical Society, where, in the companionship of such men as Jefferson, Franklin, the Morrises and many others, he became an active associate. At its request he favored the society upon frequent occasions with timely papers upon his favorite study of meteorology. In the year 1801 the society, through Mr. William Rawle, became possessed of an "Electrical Machine, to produce Flame by the

sudden contact of the Electrical Fluid with Inflammable Gas, or Air," an instrument of Legaux's invention.

As a member of this very ancient and honorable body he was appointed a committee, with one or two others, "to-report upon the best method and expense of furnishing the city with true time."

He was also a member of the Academy of Natural Sciences, and a regular correspondent of the "Columbian Magazine," on matters of meteorology, for a long term of years. In the daily Philadelphia papers of the time Legaux's name was kept well before the public on subjects in which he was variously interested.

His great hobby, vine-growing, seemed to develop into a sort of life-passion, for he pursued it with irrepressible vigor and determination.

His experiments at "Mt. Joy" were kept up and in the main proved successful in so far as they demonstrated his theory of the soil and climate being suited to grape culture. The newspapers of the period contained, from time to time, alluring prospects of the ultimate success of the venture. In Dunlap's Daily American Register, dated May 1st, 1793, there is an elaborate introduction to the subject of viniculture several columns in length, from which I shall briefly quote a few extracts:

"The General Assembly of Pennsylvania, among the various objects of utility under their consideration, have been particularly attentive to a petition of Mr. Legaux, respecting a plan for the establishment of the culture of wine in Pennsylvania. They have ordered a committee to report a bill—of which we will give the particulars as it approaches to maturity." And then it goes on to recite an argument advanced by his old friend, the Abbe Raynal, to show how the English who had no wine of their own were determined to obtain it from the new hemisphere, and it then refers at length to repeated experiments that had been made, but they had only resulted in failures "because the country was too much covered with woods, which attracted moisture and destroying fogs. The seasons were too changeable, and the insects too numerous in the neighborhood of the wood. * * * * *

* * Success will not result until after repeated trials, and

that wine culture will be preceded by that of silk, the production of that reptile insect, which clothes mankind from the leaves of the trees, prepared in its own body. Jealous, says Legaux, of having the precedence, by giving to the Americans wine before the worm clothes them, I tried in 1787, at Spring Mill, one of those experiments which the Abbe Raynal prognosticated and encouraged, the success whereof has hitherto exceeded all expectations and has proved to a certainty that if the cultivators of the vine who have been invited by the English have hitherto failed of success in their object it must rather have proceeded from their unacquaintance with the climate of this country, which requires a culture of the vine quite different from that which is commonly practiced in Europe, than from any other cause. * * * * The clearing of the woods (which, since the period mentioned by Mr. Raynal) has been affected to a considerable extent by the industry of the inhabitants, assisted by the laborious Germans. * * * *

* * Indeed, all the lands of Virginia and Maryland, exhausted by the culture of tobacco, or those which are of inferior quality, sandy, gravelly or stony, are the prospect for this plant and await only the moment to receive them and nourish them in their bosom. * * * * Who, without experience, would have thought that a bad wood, the most misshapen of all, the most brittle and the most unfit for any use, could produce so excellent a liquor? It is only to plant it in a soil dry, stony and to all appearances sterile, and in a short time this sand, moistened with a little dew, will produce a multitude of grapes filled with a juice full of force and pleasure. Where did it acquire the qualities so superior to the baseness of its origin and the dryness of its natural soil? Who gave it so much spirit and fire? How can this juice preserve so much efficacy and strength with so much delicacy that it keeps good for years; that it bears (the) shaking of a land carriage and the longest voyage over sea? That it is converted in the still into a liquor still stronger and more penetrating, which curiosity and experience have diversified in a thousand different manners; a liquor as necessary in chemistry and pharmacy as the vinegar! A third product of this plant is not only in common life as a pungent and agreeable seasoning, but likewise useful in medicine, chemistry and several arts, an acid antiseptic, incisis, and aperient, astringent and refreshing." Among other things that the writer of this enumerates is "that the wine vinegar is efficacious for madness," and quotes Mr. Buchoz as authority to sustain it. The pumice is of value for brandy fertilizer and as an application to fresh wounds; for the

feeding of poultry and the cure of rheumatism another product is tartar, made from the lees, and useful to dyers and chemists.

In a few weeks after the appearance of this article the State Legislature enacted a law, entitled:

"An Act to enable the Governor of this Commonwealth to incorporate a Company for the purpose of Promoting the Cultivation of Vines, and for other purposes therein mentioned."

And then the following paragraph appears in it.

"Whereas it has been represented by Peter Legaux that from actual experiments by him made there is sufficient reason to believe that the cultivation of the vine, if properly encouraged, might be carried on with success in this Commonwealth, and that several persons are ready and willing to enter into a subscription for the purpose of carrying on the cultivation of that plant on a more extensive scale than has hitherto been attempted in this state, if the Legislature would grant them a charter of incorporation, etc., etc." The provisions of the act then follow. One of its features provides for the creation of a commission of five persons to receive subscriptions for stock, and to sit at certain periods for that purpose. The following gentlemen composed this board: Colonel Samuel Miles, Tench Francis, John Swanwick, Timothy Pickering and Israel Whelan. The capital stock was 1000 shares at \$20 each par value, \$10 per share to be paid upon subscription and the remainder at any time subject to call. When the commission had disposed of 500 shares and such fact being made known to the Governor, the latter would then issue letters patent and the company would then be permitted to organize and proceed with the business.

Notwithstanding the apparent readiness of the friends of the scheme to subscribe, they allowed their interest to drag along for a year or two, and the new industry languished. In the meantime, Peter Legaux, who had spent a great deal, and perhaps all of his money in the purchase and improvement of the plantation and getting his vineyard under way, found it expedient to do something to ease the burden he was carrying in the shape of a mortgage to Captain Prevost, now about due, and which, had the stock company been speedily organized, he would have been relieved of. As it was, the whole property passed under proceedings against the mortgage into the nominal ownership of Samuel Merrian and others, although it was

prearranged that Mr. Legaux should continue to live there, at least during the time pending the outcome of the stock subscription. The following letter, found among his correspondence, and which was marked "Copy," will, perhaps, better illustrate the condition of his affairs than any further explanation I may give concerning them. This letter was no doubt intended for General George Washington, who was then President of the United States. Whether or not it was ever delivered, or what was its effect, it was very evident that Montgomery had, at one time, a remote possibility of possessing a Presidential residence, for in 1790 the seat of government had been transferred to Philadelphia :

[COPY.]

SPRING MILL, January 26th, 1791.

Sir:—In July, 1787, your excellency honored me with a visit, and encouraged me to proceed in my attempt to bring the culture of the vine to perfection in this country. To this employment I have devoted all my time, but at the very moment I am about reaping the benefit of my labor and industry, and on the point of succeeding in my attempt, I find myself so situated that without assistance I shall be obliged to abandon my enterprise, the success of which would materially benefit the United States. The love which your Excellency bears to this country emboldens me to request a favor, which if obtained will not only greatly benefit me but be of lasting advantage to these states.

No one here (at a distance from my native country, family and fortune) can, with as much ease as yourself, confer this favor, but it is first necessary that I should prove by the enclosed that I am not an adventurer that would impose upon your Excellency, but an honest man, who is endeavoring to render himself serviceable to that part of the world which he inhabits.

On the 2d of February, 1786, I bought in partnership with Mr. Samuel Merrian, a native of Switzerland, merchant in Philadelphia, a farm belonging to Major Augustine Prevost, for the sum of £3300, payable in five years, and in three payments and the remainder in improvements upon the estate, viz: A ferry, limekiln, sawmill, outhouses, etc., and my partner, having disappointed my expectations in not furnishing on his part his stipulated portion of the funds, I was conse-

quently obliged to sell him my farm, and to take such arrangements elucidated in the annexed agreement of the 30th of May, 1789. Now this purchaser, Mr. Samuel Merrian, has failed in the fulfillment of his 2d agreement and finds it even out of his power to make good his promise.

The farm is one of the finest in Pennsylvania. At a distance of 13 miles from Philadelphia, and might suit your Excellency as a country-seat while Congress is in session. If once put in good order, might be made very productive. The estate is now liable to be sold by the Sheriff for about £1700 or £1800 Penna. currency, the sum due to Major Prevost. If this farm is sold by the Sheriff and I should not find it in my power to purchase it, I shall lose all the advantages that I might enjoy, shall be obliged to give it up and abandon all the improvements toward the cultivation of the vine, which already promises success and shall have irrecoverably lost the money expended on these improvements.

I can, however, purchase, having the best founded hopes that I shall have supplies from Europe, but it is necessary to realize on these hopes here, which may require time to effect. I am in expectation of supplies from my family, but the fear of these coming too late, if the sale is immediate and for ready money, induces me to take the liberty of communicating to your Excellency the actual situation of my affairs, and to beg your assistance should my funds not arrive in time to extricate myself from my difficulties. The enclosed advertisement will serve to give your Excellency an idea of the nature of the estate which would well suit an industrious person in easy circumstances. I am far from endeavoring to speculate by an advantageous bargain by the purchase of that estate; my only wish is to retain the advantages I might derive from my improvements in the cultivation of the vine, were they carried to perfection and to carry on my plan on a larger scale by adding 30 acres to my first vineyard, out of land which is yet covered with wood, but is preferable on point of sale and expectations to that which you saw, and from which the wood would be sufficient to pay the sum due Mr. Prevost. The results of my improvements in the cultivation of the vine has hitherto answered my most sanguine expectation. I hope if I shall remain on the estate to be able to show a specimen of American wine next fall, and a much larger quantity the year following.

I should think myself happy if your Excellency would either purchase this estate and grant me the liberty of carrying on my improvements under the direction of your Excel-

lency, or, that your Excellency would advance the sum to enable me to make the purchase upon a mortgage upon the said estate until I should receive the funds I expect from my friends in Europe. One of the two favors I earnestly request of your Excellency, and in your Excellency's goodness I depend for a forgiveness of this bold request, and on your Excellency's patriotism I trust for a favorable answer.

Hoping the country who owes her liberty and wisdom and military talents will owe her wine to your generosity.

The will of your Excellency will be my rule, as it always was governed on principles of wisdom and propriety and the constant aid to the public good.

I am, with profound respect,

YOUR EXCELLENCY'S OBEDIENT SERVANT.

Through the year 1792 the vine company's affairs grew apace, while aside from the unfortunate delay that was experienced in getting the necessary number of subscribers, Mr. Legaux had become in some way involved in circumstances that led to his constant persecution, and he thus occupied a very uncomfortable relation to his neighbors. It is probable that his peculiar dealings with them had incurred their hostility, for they found various pretexts to annoy and harass him at every opportunity, and, as one result of this warfare, he appeared before the county court at nearly every term and frequently before the courts in Philadelphia, either as plaintiff or defendant. The character of this annoyance took various forms, but became really serious when it was discovered that there was a plot to assassinate him near his home, and its timely revelation caused certain persons to flee the country. As a rule, Mr. Legaux was successful in most of these cases, and to show to what extent this persecution was carried I will state that I read in one of the newspapers of that time that charges had been made to the overseers of the Plymouth Meeting, reflecting upon the Society of Friends, or rather certain members of it, who while not openly afflicting or abasing Legaux, abetted malicious persons in the practice of it until the evil was stopped by the above officials.

During this unpleasant period in his career in this county, as ascertained from a copy of The Independent Gazetteer and Agricultural Repository, of March 31st, 1792, there was in

that paper no less than six columns of matter relating to and being chiefly a synopsis of 26 specific charges, or cases, in which Legaux figured as a principal. A correspondent in reviewing these items thus ends a letter upon the subject:

"Is there an American citizen—is there a civilized inhabitant of the universe, who, in the space of five years, has undergone more numerous and oppressive afflictions in a free country than you? Are those who wish to become American citizens to encounter difficulties, dangers and distress? Have they quitted voluntarily their respected homes to be in a worse condition than at home? I say nothing of the various law suits which you have to maintain in a number of courts of law, the determination of which must be favorable to you. I respect the law too highly to say anything with regard to affairs yet undetermined or to attempt, contrary to a law of the state, to bias the minds of the jury who may be called on to determine the business. It is said you disdain to supplicate for *favor*; on the contrary, should it be offered to you, you would despise it, as *justice alone is your object*." * * * I am, sir,

Respectfully your obedient servant,

AN ENEMY TO PERSECUTION.

But to return to the affairs of the vine company, the subscription list being yet incomplete, the work at Spring Mill still continued. Legaux's constant care and anxiety was centered in its anticipated success. The Daily Advertiser of August 16, 1793, states that "the first vintage ever held in America would begin at the vineyard, near Spring Mill, and in a few weeks Mr. Legaux will begin to produce American wine, made upon principles hitherto unknown, or at least unpracticed here. This will form a new era in the history of American agriculture. We shall no longer be indebted to foreign wines for this balm of life, and succeeding generations will bless the memory of the man who first taught the Americans the culture of this generous plant."

In January, 1800, the Legislature passed an act, supplemental to the one of March 22d, 1793, which removed the principal obstacle to the more rapid subscription to the stock, and it was thus made a popular measure. The commissioners were also increased, and they were empowered to receive sums not less than one dollar on each and every share of

stock, the balance due to be paid at such times and in such proportions as the managers may from time to time direct. Thomas McKean had now become Governor, and he, under date of March 16th, 1801, appointed the following gentlemen commissioners to take subscriptions:

Col. Samuel Miles, Stephen Girard, Caspar Wistar, Jr., John Vaughan, Benjamin S. Barton, Simon Chandron, Israel Whelan, Samuel Coates, Samuel Wetherill, James Gibson, B. Henry Latrobe, Benjamin Jay.

The following circular was thereupon issued by them, which explained the plan and conditions, or otherwise called the "prospectus":

A NATIONAL AFFAIR FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD.
AMERICAN VINES.

The law of this commonwealth for promoting the cultivation of the vine merits the regard of every friend of our independence and prosperity. The experiment has been fairly made; not upon a narrow scale or as a mere object of agricultural recreation, but by a continued and regular series of cultivation for fifteen years. This important labor has been undertaken and prosecuted to full effect by Mr. Peter Legaux, within 13 miles, in a N. N. W. direction from this city. A history of the progress of this undertaking, the artificial difficulties overcome, and the worst of all difficulties, the coldness and indifference of the opulent to its promotion—nay, the oppositions and obstructions thrown in its way by some—would furnish material for a little volume.

The natural advantages of the soil and climate, and habits peculiarly calculated for the undertaking, have, however, triumphed, and already wines of excellent quality and variety of kinds have been produced.

Having stated this pleasing fact, we shall add a few particulars for public information and with the hope that the attention of the liberal will be called to a subject so interesting, in various ways.

It appears that about 15 years ago Mr. Legaux procured from Europe three hundred plants of the grape of the highest estimation in that part of the world. These were Burgundy, Champagne and Bordeaux. Soon after he procured plants of the Constantia vine from the Cape of Good Hope. He commenced his undertaking on a piece of ground, the soil of which was not calculated for the growth of grain, hilly and

uncleared. There he found our native grape vine in its wild state. This he preserved and performed some happy experiments by inoculation and transplanting.

From the three hundred European plants in ten years he obtained 100,000 plants, which in 10 years more will produce upwards of 30,000,000 of plants, or enough to stock eight thousand acres of land at 3600 to an acre, set about 3½ feet apart.

From the single plant of the Constantia vine, which produces the wine of that name, and which is of the same quality and flavor as the celebrated Tokay, of Hungary, he has raised 3000 plants. In proceeding thus far the expense of the enterprise of establishing a vintage was sustained by the produce of other agricultural labors. The exuberance of the vines soon occupied all the ground that could be spared from the species of culture that were to support it. The only income derived from the vineyard being what arose from the sale of grapes and plants, in some measure retarded the progress of the undertaking.

However, so long ago as 1793 the first vintage was made, and with the most complete success. Six barrels of the then principal wines, and a small quantity of Tokay, or Constantia, were produced, and as an evidence of the fitness of our climate and soil for this important branch of agriculture, this vintage was made about the middle of August, the hottest season of the year, and the wines were preserved in perfection without the addition of another single drop of alcohol.

Since 1793, the undertaking has been circumscribed through want of room and the funds necessary to extend the vineyard. Mr. Legaux has therefore confined himself from necessity to the multiplication of plants, with a hope that when the public that by the success of private experiments the practicability of raising any quantity and any quality, it will be thought worth while to encourage the American vintage, and to prefer American wine of an equal quality, but at a cheaper rate, to that which is imported at a heavy expense.

It appears that the vineyard of Mr. Legaux now contains 18,000 mature vines and a nursery of plants with several hundred thousand. That a vineyard has been established upon his plan in Kentucky, which prospers admirably. That the soil upon which is Mr. Legaux's vineyard is of a poor quality, unfit for producing grain. That vineyards may be established in any part of the country, and be rendered productive in the third year, and that it may be made a source of individual profit if pursued with small capital for three or four years,

and that upon the whole the support of this undertaking in the mode authorized by the law of our state will be honorable and useful to the community.

The advantages arising to subscribers are set forth in the following :

PLAN OF SUBSCRIPTION.

(Under the authority and patronage of government.)

For the cultivation of the vine and the supply of wines, brandy, tartar and vinegar from the American soil, and the extension of vineyards and nurseries of plants of the Burgundy, Champagne, Bordeaux and Torkay wines, and to procure wine-dressers for America.

Sec. I. The money of subscribers will be employed to purchase land, plants of the vine and all tools necessary to carry on the vineyard business, under the direction and control of the President and managers of the company, to be incorporated agreeably to the law of Pennsylvania, passed on the 22d of March, 1793, and the supplement thereto, passed in February, 1800, and January 31st, 1801.

Sec. II. Citizens of the United States, non-subscribers, may at their own expense send apprentices of either sex, white or black, to the school of the vintage belonging to the company, for three, four or five successive years; \$8.00 to be paid to the funds of the company on the entrance of each scholar. At the expiration of the apprenticeship of five years shall be delivered unto each apprentice the value of \$30.00 in vine plants of the best quality, so that the apprentice may immediately become a cultivator with stock on hand. Apprentices for a shorter period in proportion.

Sec. III. Every subscriber for from one to four shares shall have the same privilege, only that he shall not pay entrance money, and at the end of five years shall receive the value of \$50.00 in 1000 plants, besides his interest in the vineyard company, that will increase considerably in a short time.

Sec. IV. Holders of from five to ten shares shall have the same privilege, but the pupil shall receive \$150.00 in 3000 plants at the expiration of the period, besides his interest in the company.

Sec. V. Holders of from ten to twenty shares shall have the right of requiring board and lodging at the expense of the company for their apprentice, and \$250.00 in 5000 plants at the end of five years, besides his interest in vineyard and company.

Sec. VI. The holders of from twenty to thirty shares, two apprentices, on the same terms as the preceding, with \$700.00 in 14,000 plants, at the end of five years, besides his interest in the company.

Sec. VII. All the produce of the labor, such as it may be, shall be for the benefit of the company during the period of their service.

Sec. VIII. Certificates of good conduct and character will be requisite to the admission of an apprentice, and each shall be provided with a hatchet, spade, hoe and pruning knife, which they shall be obliged to keep in good order.

Sec. IX. The local police of the establishment to be regulated by the company, to which the apprentice shall be subject.

As soon as 500 shares are subscribed for the Governor will be requested to grant the incorporation according to law, which will enable the company to go immediately into the business.

The objects of the association: First, to raise in their vineyards a constant supply of the plants of the best species of vines, to be distributed abundantly, and on easy terms throughout the country, to make wine, brandy, ether, vinegar and tartar, etc., etc. Second, to train a number of vine-dressers, who having acquired the necessary skill shall be capable of attending to and teaching the cultivation of the vine in any part of the country; they will also be instructed in the art of making wine, brandy and vinegar.

Capital, which is to be raised for this purpose, is to consist of 1000 shares of \$20.00 each. As a source of profit the subscription is highly eligible. It is an exertion for a great national good; and the shares have on their account been set at so low a sum that many citizens of the most industrious classes may partake in its promotion.

The company have already the command of a very considerable number of plants of several species, now naturalized in this country, and are in a situation to begin with spirit and success. 280 shares are already subscribed for and the money in the bank.

Those gentlemen who are disposed to patronize this undertaking, the success of which would add so much to the wealth and prosperity of the country, are respectfully solicited (should Mr. Legaux not have the pleasure of meeting them at home) to add their names to the subscription book kept by Mr. Kitchen, at the City Tavern.

April 1st, 1801.

TO THE CITIZENS OF PHILADELPHIA.

The hope of finding you well disposed to give ample encouragement to a branch of agriculture which will be of very considerable benefit to the United States in general and to yourselves in particular, has induced me to accept with pleasure and interest from the undersigned Commissioners the charge of soliciting your subscription for the success of an affair of public importance, under the auspices and protection of the government. In handing you the book of subscriptions, which I intend in a few days, you will not, I am persuaded, think me importunate or intrusive, but consider me as fulfilling the duty imposed on me by the Commissioners. A duty the more agreeable, as I am confident if it is successfully performed the United States will eventually be considerably benefited.

With the most perfect respect,

I am your humble servant,

PETER LEGAUX.

On January 4th, 1802, five hundred and fifty shares of stock had been subscribed for, aggregating \$2200 and representing \$11,000 of the capital paid in. Application was at once made to Governor McKean and he directed letters patent to be issued; after which organization was at once effected by electing a Board of Managers, of which Dr. Benjamin Jay was President, Israel Morris Treasurer and Secretary.

It is interesting to note that among the 385 subscribers were the following well-known persons: Thomas McKean, Robert Morris, Citizen Charles Ed. Genet, Minister from France; Thomas Mifflin, A. J. Dulles, Benjamin T. Bache, Thomas Bradford, P. S. Duponceau, Jonathan Mifflin, Jonathan Smith, Jr., Timothy Pickering, Stephen Girard, M. Sicard, Dr. Benjamin Rush, Samuel Meredith, first Secretary of the Treasury; Mordecai Lewis, Samuel Coates, Jesse Sharpless, Samuel Pleasants, Samuel Wetherill, Robert Walm, Col. Anthony Morris, William Bradford, Alexander Hamilton, Aaron Burr, P. LeB. Dupleiss, Dr. Benjamin S. Barton, John Hopkins, Jared Ingersoll, Casper Wistar, Z. Poulson, Mahlon Dickerson, William Duane, William Rawle, Dr. Edw. Shippen, George S. Stephenson, Peter Muhlenberg, William Moore Smith, George Bartram and many others.

The work now progressed rapidly at Spring Mill. Several acres had been set out with the vines, and every effort was directed toward the consummation of that success which had been so loudly proclaimed and patiently awaited. Legaux, who had been so diligent in promoting this affair, was made superintendent at an annual salary of \$500 or \$600, besides his residence and a living on the place.

Now that he had reached the goal of his long-sought hopes it was thought that prosperity with fat and frequent dividends in its train would settle upon this venture, and so he continued still to investigate and experiment.

The farm was excellently adapted for grape culture, with slight rolling hill-sides, sheltered from the bleak points, but exposing their slopes to the warm south, and thus was offered every advantage for the proper maturity of the grape. The affairs of the company for a time seemed to prosper and under apparently favorable auspices. In August, 1804, Robert Sutcliffe, an English traveler visiting this locality, afterwards mentions it in his book, thus: "We crossed the Schuylkill at Spring Mill ferry and had a sight of a vineyard of about five acres, under the management of a Frenchman. As the vines are not supposed to grow more than three feet in height, it has somewhat the appearance of a field of raspberries."

But the experience of the immediately succeeding years was disappointing in relation to the viniculturists. It became plainly evident that the methods practised here would never pass beyond the experimental stages. Wine was made, it is true, in small quantities, and of excellent quality; but the cost of production was greater than had been anticipated and attended with so much difficulty, particularly with regard to obtaining skilled labor, that the establishment became a veritable sink-hole to the stockholders, who, it is said, never realized a penny of profit out of their undertaking. Then, following upon this condition of affairs, there came contentions between the managers and the superintendent, who on his part had charged the board with tardiness, neglect and purposely pursuing a penurious policy in not providing for the

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necessities of the enterprise, and thus allowing the vineyard to depreciate.

Under these circumstances the burden of labor in carrying along the operations fell principally upon Peter Legaux, the "promoter" of this promising "bonanza," and he was finally obliged to perform ordinary manual labor to prevent the premises from falling into a state of utter dilapidation, and so the years passed, and with them the last chances of success. Interest lapsed on part of the main body of stockholders in its maintenance. Eventually, John Righter, who was a son-in-law of Peter Legaux, by securing the vine company stock whenever opportunity offered, rescued the property, but it was a long time, however, before he succeeded in becoming the absolute owner. The Sheriff had to sell the property a number of times, and it was not until some time in June, 1828, before the historic property became wholly his own; and thus passed out of existence one of the earliest efforts ever made to establish the industry of grape culture and wine making in this country. It has since, however, become one of the most successful of industries in the various parts of our American domain.

After the collapse of the Pennsylvania Vine Company our pioneer passed the remainder of his years in comparative peace at the vineyard, that had now become the home of his daughter, and here he lived, among his books and the memories of the days that were, until the closing of his eventful life came—September 25th, 1827.

His will is a peculiar document, its language and effect strikingly characteristic of the testator.

He constituted his two daughters, Sophia and Elizabeth, joint heirs with their mother, and the latter with Messrs. Reese Harry, Samuel Sherwood, Christopher Markley and Frederick Nuss were appointed executors. Whatever property he had, real or personal, was equally divided between his three heirs.

Another clause in his will further devises "and bequeaths out of friendship and gratitude to Mr. Wm. Duane (the father), of Philadelphia, my barometer, which contains a thermometer

and a hygrometer, these three instruments being of my own construction and portable. Should the physical, astronomical and meteorological observations which have so agreeably occupied me since 1785 in America, be acceptable to him or his eldest son—Wm. Duane, my friend, all my journals and writings on that subject are at their orders and disposal. I do by these presents request Messieurs, the Directory, to deliver to them on their demand and assure them of my tender and respectful gratitude for the innumerable and distinguished services they have rendered to the present testator, to me I say.

(Signed) PETER LEGAUX.

Peter Legaux left three children, all daughters. The eldest married Chevalier Panichott; the next, Sophia, married Joseph Guiger, and removed to other parts, but that family is now extinct. The youngest daughter, Elizabeth, married John Righter, a son of Anthony Righter, who was descended from a German family named Richter, that had early settled in Lower Merion township and since became prominent.

As a grandfather, Legaux's singular fancies found expression in the names of his grandchildren. They were: Peter Legaux, Isaac (the favorite), who died at the age of 13. Then came the twin-brothers, Joseph and Anthony, whom Legaux named in honor of the stars, "Castor" and "Pollux": then there followed John "Archeas," Charles Carroll, George Washington, Lucressa Romaine (the only daughter) and Lindley Vale.

Many changes have taken place about "Mt. Joy" since Legaux's day, much of which he foresaw and prophesied, so far as it related to the development of the methods of transportation and the utility of the Schuylkill Valley as a route to the West.

In the year following his death the Schuylkill Navigation Company opened up their system, and lines of packets operated between Philadelphia and Reading, by which much of the mineral and cereal wealth of the western regions were brought down to the great metropolis on the Delaware.

At a later day the iron furnaces came, and they belched forth their flames at the very foot of Legaux's beautiful bee-

gardens, their blasts awoke the echoes of his charming hills, and streams of molten lava poured over those very slopes whose verdure and fertility had been his constant pride. Even this innovation had its day. The furnaces thrived for a time, but now a mass of ruins alone marks the site of the Hitner and Kunzie operations. It has left the village that arose about them, and for a time bid fair to be prosperous and permanent, to lapse into the silence of oblivion, and nothing now disturbs the peaceful hamlet save the noise of the passing cars or the more constant rumbling of the old flouring-mill that was, and is, the Alpha and Omega of Spring Mill.

[Read before the Historical Society by Samuel Gordon Smyth, May 29, 1895.]

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passed them before me.

When from some hilltop we look over the landscape there are points that rise prominently; and hide from view other and perhaps more attractive scenes.

As in the evening of a busy day we review the incidents of the hours past, so in the evening of my years I sit, muse and demand memory's page to bring before me events of the years that are forever gone.

Incidentally, I remember the proceedings of a temperance meeting, held in the Baptist Church, Norristown, Pa., on Wednesday, January 1st, 1851. The meeting was called to order by Zadok Thomas, who nominated for President Rev. Randolph A. Smith, minister of the Presbyterian Church. William McDermott was elected Secretary. A letter from Rev. John Chambers was read, giving reasons for his absence; Rev. Mr. Cox, pastor of the Methodist Church, opened the meeting with prayer. Rev. Samuel Aaron presented a series of resolutions, one calling on pastors of the borough to preach on temperance, with a view of dissuading the public against signing tavern licenses, one urging ministers to request the members of their congregations to petition the Legislature to pass a prohibitory law. Franklin P. Sellers, publisher of the "Olive Branch," a temperance paper, had been sued and had met with damages in the prosecution of the cause, and resolutions of sympathy were passed. Speeches were made

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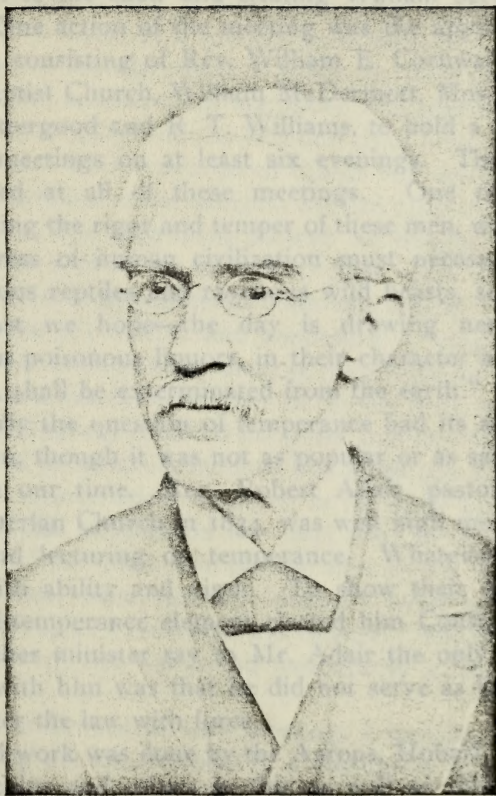
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Incidentally, I remember the proceedings of a temperance meeting, held in the Baptist Church, Norristown, Pa., on Wednesday, January 1st, 1851. The meeting was called to order by Zabor Thomas, who nominated for President Rev. Randolph A. Smith, minister of the Presbyterian Church. William McDermott was elected Secretary. A letter from Rev. John Chambers was read, giving reasons for his absence; Rev. Mr. Cox, pastor of the Methodist Church, opened the meeting with prayer. Rev. Samuel Aaron presented a series of resolutions, one calling on pastors of the borough to preach on temperance, with a view of dissuading the public against signing tavern licenses, one urging ministers to request the members of their congregations to petition the Legislature to pass a prohibitory law. Franklin F. Sellers, publisher of the "Olive Branch," a temperance paper, had been sued and had met with damages in the prosecution of the cause, and resolutions of sympathy were passed. Speeches were made

by Revs. Messrs. Aaron and Cornwall, Richard S. James, principal of the public schools, Charles E. Aaron, Benjamin Davis, William Powell, Esq., William and Jacob Paxson. In the evening a borough society was organized by calling Theodore Morgan to the chair and electing William McDermott Secretary.



...ing of a committee, consisting of Mr. William E. Goshaw, minister of the Baptist Church, and Dr. E. D. Bennett, of the First Presbyterian Church. Thomas Scattergood and T. Williams, a bold series of temperance meetings at least six evenings. The pledge was circulated at all these meetings. A resolution passed, showing the right and temper of these men, "That as the progress of the cause must necessarily destroy venomous reptiles, we must be prepared to live—at least we hope the day is drawing near when the dealers in poison will be driven from the market and business as usual shall be resumed from the earth."

Very early the anti-temperance cause had its advocates in Norristown, though it was not as powerful as it is to advocate as in our time. The first of these was a pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, who was well known for preaching and returning to temperance. When he did was done with ability and courage. He was a man who did hate the anti-temperance cause. William E. Goshaw, I heard a brother minister say, "Mr. Goshaw the only fault he had to find with him was that he did not serve as constable and administer the law with the same vigor."

Splendid work was done by Messrs. Morgan, Cheney, Gould, Hunt, and others in the cause of moral movements. For this Rev. Mr. Aaron was attacked and cow-

William McDermott

hided by two men in the "old academy" who scholars had gone home to school. He was a man who got out of the academy. Aaron refused to prosecute on the principle of non-resistance, and the cause was lost. The public at large demanded vengeance through the courts.

During Mr. Aaron's eloquent advocacy of temperance, an incident occurred that stirred the whole town. A woman,

by Revs. Messrs. Aaron and Cornwall, Richard S. James, principal of the public schools, Charles E. Aaron, Benjamin Davis, William Powell, Esq., William and Jacob Paxson. In the evening a borough society was organized by calling Theodore Morgan to the chair and electing William McDermott Secretary. One action of the meeting was the appointing of a committee, consisting of Rev. William E. Cornwall, minister of the Baptist Church, William McDermott, Moses Auge, Thomas Scattergood and R. T. Williams, to hold a series of temperance meetings on at least six evenings. The pledge was circulated at all of these meetings. One resolution passed, showing the rigor and temper of these men, was "That as the progress of human civilization must necessarily destroy venomous reptiles and ravenous wild beasts, so we believe—at least we hope—the day is drawing near when the dealers in poisonous liquors, in their character and business as such, shall be exterminated from the earth."

Very early the question of temperance had its advocates in Norristown, though it was not as popular or as safe to advocate as in our time. Rev. Robert Adair, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in 1834, was well nigh mobbed for preaching and lecturing on temperance. Whatever he did was done with ability and vigor. To show their spite and hate the anti-temperance element elected him Constable. I heard a brother minister say to Mr. Adair the only fault he had to find with him was that he did not serve as Constable and administer the law with force.

Splendid work was done by the Aarons, Hobart, Cheney, Gould, Hutchins and others in this as well as other moral movements. For this Rev. Mr. Aaron was attacked and cowhided by two men in the "old academy," after his scholars had gone home. He stood still, making no defence. His assailants got out of town before their cowardly act was known. Mr. Aaron refused to prosecute the men, on the principle of a non-resistant, and was willing to suffer in a just cause. The public at large demanded ventilation through the courts.

During Mr. Aaron's eloquent advocacy of temperance, an incident occurred that stirred the whole town. A woman,

who lived on Marshall street, between Swede and DeKalb streets, cut her babe's throat. I saw the infant a few hours after the fact was discovered. The babe was a lovely little object, and looked like the whitest marble. At the Coroner's inquest, one of the jury, S. Cauffman, found a pass-book, used by the child's father at a grocery store here that sold liquor. It was learned that the drunken father had sold one article of furniture after another until the house was almost bare. All had gone for whisky, and the wife and child were at the point of starvation. This condition of things had driven the poor mother insane, and in her delirium she had taken the life of her only child. The pass-book showed he bought a quart of whisky, then a little tea or coffee, then more whisky, and about every other item entered there was liquor. Mr. Aaron had this book given him, and announced a temperance lecture, with the headless babe and the pass-book for a text. It was given on a Sunday afternoon, in the old court house. Inside the building was reserved for ladies, and the "hill" outside was occupied by men. A window was taken out of the building, and Mr. Aaron spoke standing in the open window. As he pictured that sacrifice on the cruel altar of intemperance, and portrayed the other man getting rich on the blood-drops of that innocent babe, and the mother's heart stained with the awful crime, the excitement was intense. The mother was tried for murder, but was found temporarily insane and was acquitted.

At one of our temperance meetings I introduced a resolution seeking the appointment of a committee to secure the enforcement of the Sunday Law, the law of 1794. Rev. Mr. Aaron, of the Third ward, Richard T. Stewart, of the Second ward, and myself, of the First ward, were made the committee. I found a "viola tor," but when the "case" was brought before the Burgess, Zadok T. Galt, a member of the bar, I was "non-suited."

CHURCHES.

The Episcopal Church was the first one built in our borough, about the year 1815. The First Presbyterian followed, four years later, and stood till 1854, when it was torn down to

make place for the present edifice. It was a stone building, whitewashed, with a row of poplar trees in front. There the good old Elders, David Getty, Ulrich Schlater, Jacob Teaney, William Powell, my father, and Jacob Glasgow, an old colored man, would meet and prepare for the work of the church. These would go around and hold at different homes "cottage prayer meetings." David Getty, Ulrich Schlater and Jacob Teaney were the first Elders. David Wolmer, the first President of the Bank of Montgomery County, was an Elder up to the time of his death. Rev. Robert Adair was the pastor from 1834 to 1837. He occupied a house on the east corner of Green and Main streets. He was a strong "new school" man in the controversy of those times. A discussion was started by a sermon preached by Rev. Albert Barnes, of Philadelphia, Penna., on the "Five Points of Calvinism." At that date the salaries were not of the kind to induce the young man to the ministry. When called here, Mr. Adair was to receive six hundred dollars a year and pay his house rent out of that. A remarkable incident in the life of this most excellent pastor, preacher and scholar was that he left Norristown in the year 1837 and was called back here to the "Central Church" of Norristown, in 1862, after an interval of a quarter of a century. Mr. Adair was in the ministry for about sixty years. The first Presbyterian pastors were Rev. Mr. Barr, Rev. Mr. Nassau, who baptized me; then Mr. Adair, and then Rev. Samuel M. Gould. Mr. Gould was here thirteen years. He had remarkable revivals in 1839, 1841 and in 1843. I united with this church at this latter date, February, 1843, when ninety-seven stood up on that Sabbath in that old church, and entered upon a Christian life. In those days there were no "evangelistic" preachers, technically so-called; the fact was the pastors were all "evangelistic" preachers. Their sermons were all of that character. Rev. Mr. Gould was aided by the pastor of the Lutheran Church at "Barren," now "Lafayette" Hill, and Rev. Mr. Helfenstein, of Germantown. One of the sermons of Mr. Helfenstein was on "Judas; or, a Lost Soul." The church was crowded. A large attendance was present, mostly men, and when an after meet-

ing was called but two persons left the church. But most of the preaching night after night for weeks and months was done by Mr. Gould himself. Mr. Gould is buried in Montgomery Cemetery. His monument has a unique inscription, like this: "I pass through the dark portals of the grave to the realms of glory." Revs. Messrs. Aaron, Hutchins, Cheney, of the Baptist Church, Stem, Woart, Maxey, Brown, and McIlvaine, of the Episcopal Church, with a long list of other men of marked ability, filled the pulpits of our borough. Rev. George Deering Wolff went from one of the churches of our town into the Roman Catholic Church; Rev. William Fulton, of the Congregational denomination, was in his better days a man of remarkable ability and power, and Rev. Daniel Gilbert Mallery, the first pastor of the Central Presbyterian Church, gave the quietus here to spiritualism. Mr. Mallery took the stand that it was of the devil, and Mr. Fulton that it was a humbug. Mr. Mallery was the chaplain of the Fourth, afterward the Fifty-first Pennsylvania Regiment. His sermons were remarkable for the clearness with which the truth was presented. One of the most remarkable pulpit orators of the times was the Rev. John McCron, of the Lutheran Church. Rev. Mr. Aaron held a discussion with B. Markley Boyer on political questions. This was a battle of intellectual giants. Mr. Aaron held a public debate with the pastor of the Oak Street Methodist Church on baptism by immersion. Dr. William Scott assisted Mr. Aaron through the discussion. Norristown has had its full complement of able and devoted pastors. We refer only to those with whom particular acquaintance was had in the years of the past.

If we compare the present with the past we will find the world is growing better. Rev. Robert Adair in 1834 was assaulted for preaching temperance, and the windows of the First Baptist Church were afterwards broken by crowds outside for allowing temperance and anti-slavery orators in their building.

The Millerite excitement had a number of followers in Norristown. Some of them had their "ascension robes" prepared to go up on that day of April, 1843. Although so early

in springtime there was a terrific storm of thunder and lightning and a tornado of wind that frightened many. The Baptist Church was struck and the cupola demolished. It was Sunday afternoon, but no one was injured. A carpenter shop in Bridgeport was struck by lightning and set on fire at the same time.

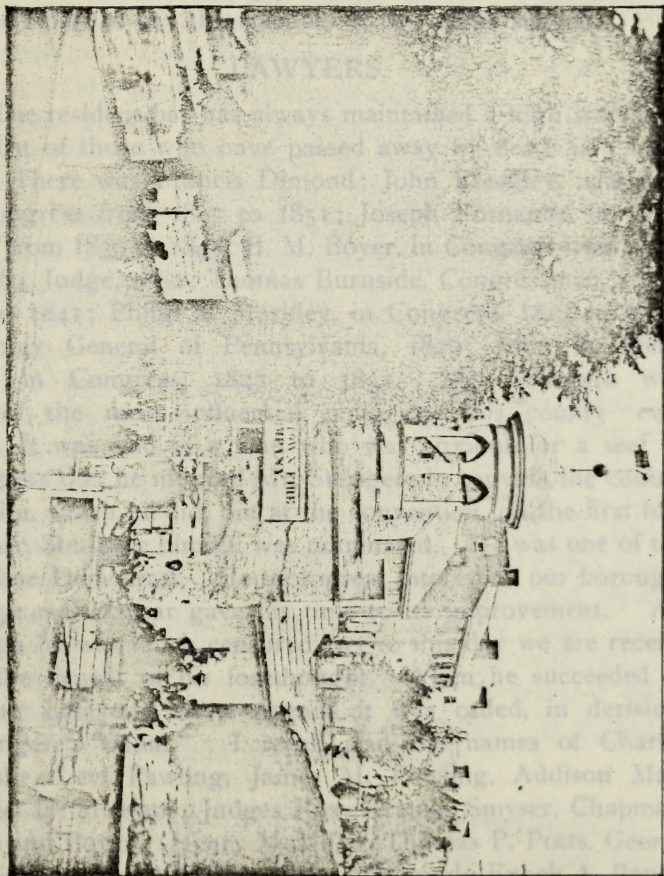
FIRE DEPARTMENT.

The recent introduction into Norristown of the fifth fire engine recalls the old Fire Department. Instead of the splendid buildings and the magnificent apparatus of the present times, there was, at the corner of the public square, Swede and Main streets (although the legal name of this busy thoroughfare is "Egypt" instead of "Main" street), a little one-story frame pebble-dashed, whitewashed building. On the top of this building was a little fire bell that gave the alarm of fire. On the roof was to be seen on St. Patrick's Day, the seventeenth of March, a "stuffed Paddy," with a string of potatoes around his neck, to irritate those from the "Green Isle." But it did not create any riot and the whole matter passed off as a piece of fun. Inside were two small hand-engines, the smaller one, "Pat Lyon," being still in existence and well cared for. It was built by an Irishman named Pat. Lyon, a blacksmith. He exhibited great mechanical skill in the construction of these engines, for they could throw a good stream of water. How did we manage a fire? There was one man, John Fry, who was a hero on all occasions of fires, and if there was a place of danger there "Jack" Fry, as he was familiarly called, was to be found. As an illustration how fires were controlled we will give a case in point. At the west corner of Main and DeKalb streets stood Spang's Hotel. A secret society met in one of the upper rooms. One fearfully cold night there was an alarm of fire. The hotel was in a blaze. The engines were hauled to the place. Across Main street, west of DeKalb street, was a pump. A line of men and women was formed from the pump to the engine. Two men worked the pump and some sixteen men worked the "Pat Lyon." The leather water buckets were handed along this line and emptied

into the troughs of the engine. But soon the pump at the well gave out and the engine had to stop work. This fire was extinguished without much damage. One of the most fearful fires that threatened great damage was a linseed oil mill at the foot of Swede street, on the Schuylkill river. Every part of the flooring and woodwork was saturated with oil. It stood near what was then known as "McCready's Mill." The fire company was sustained by the older class of our citizens, while everybody turned out to help. Each member had to have three leather buckets, and when an alarm was sounded the members rushed with their buckets to the fire. Afterwards there was a company of young men who formed a "Bucket Carriage Company." They hauled the buckets to the fire. The fire company met once a year, had an oyster supper, paid their dues, and elected their officers. Amongst the members were David Sower, William H. Slingluff, Robert Ward, Benjamin F. Hancock, John B. Sterigere, Adam Slemmer, Mordecai R. Moore, John McKay, Christopher Heebner, Laurence E. Corson, Abraham Markley, Philip Koplin, with a long list of others. But our borough was mercifully spared from dangerous fires. Our losses were not very great, considering our limited means at hand.

There has been published a list of members of the "Norristown Fire Company" of 1835. Of the thirty-seven names but one remains with us, Robert Iredell, a gentleman whom we all delight to honor; a man who came into our borough some seventy years ago. The list is as follows: Isaac Hudleson (druggist), George M. Potts, Samuel Jacoby, Charles Jones, Jacob Freedley, David Sower, Sr., William Powel (lawyer), George W. Thomas, Thomas M. Jolly, Enos Jacoby, John H. Scheetz, James Wells (Sheriff), Jacob Adle, Jr., Isaac H. Miller, Benjamin F. Hancock, Levi Roberts, Edwin Sower, William H. Slingluff, John McKay, Morgan James, Samuel Janison, Adam Slemmer, James M. Pawling (at one time District Attorney), Edward Stroud, John Harper, John Dykes, Timothy C. Boyle, Rowland Jones, Robert Iredell, Patrick Flynn, Frederick Naile, James Hoooven, Isaac D. Custer, John Hodgson, Mordecai R. Moore, Samuel Da-

vis and John Bean. These gentlemen were all leading men in business and the professions, and took an active interest in all the affairs of our borough. Among them were some who were influential in the introduction of water and gas into the town. One of them gave his personal obligation to guarantee the payment for an order of pipe; and on another occasion ad-



OLD ENGINE HOUSE, NORRISTOWN.

John R. Breckenbach (wounded in the battle of Gettysburg), Harry W. Bonsell, E. W. Beans, B. E. Chain, G. R. Fox, Charles H. Garber (author of a book of poems, and wrote for the papers over the signature of the "Garwood Bard"), E. F. Hancock, John H. Holart, Henry Freedley, Charles Hun-

vis and John Bean. These gentlemen were all leading men in business and the professions, and took an active interest in all the affairs of our borough. Among them were some who were influential in the introduction of water and gas into the town. One of them gave his personal obligation to guarantee the payment for an order of pipe, and on another occasion advanced funds to pay the teachers of the public schools.

LAWYERS.

The resident bar has always maintained a high standing. The list of those who have passed away by death is a long one. There was Francis Dimond; John Freedley, who was in Congress from 1847 to 1851; Joseph Fornance, in Congress from 1839 to 1843; B. M. Boyer, in Congress from 1865 to 1869, Judge, 1882; Thomas Burnside, Congressman, 1817; Judge, 1841; Philip S. Markley, in Congress, 1823 to 1827, Attorney General of Pennsylvania, 1829; John B. Sterigere, in Congress, 1827 to 1831. Mr. Sterigere was one of the most influential politicians this county ever had. It was said of a man who was anxious for a seat in Congress that he induced Mr. Sterigere to canvass the county for him, which he did, but at the convention, on the first ballot, Mr. Sterigere himself was nominated. He was one of the old-time Democrats. He took great interest in our borough, and year after year gave his time to its improvement. Although he was much censured, yet to this day we are receiving the benefit of his forethought. When he succeeded in having Lafayette street opened it was called, in derision, "Sterigere's Canal." I recall also the names of Charles Brooke, Levi Pawling, James M. Pawling, Addison May, Daniel H. Mulvany, Judges Fox, Krause, Smyser, Chapman, Ross and Boyer. Henry McMiller, Thomas P. Potts, George W. Stinson, Israel Thomas, J. L. Allabough, Enoch A. Banks, John R. Breitenbach (wounded in the battle of Gettysburg), Harry W. Bonsall, E. W. Beans, B. E. Chain, G. R. Fox, Charles H. Garber (author of a book of poems, and wrote for the papers over the signature of the "Garwood Bard"), B. F. Hancock, John H. Hobart, Henry Freedley, Charles Hun-

sicker, Charles T. Miller, John McNair (in Congress in 1851), S. N. Rich, R. T. Stewart (an officer in the Rebellion and a prisoner in Libby Prison), William Powell, Benjamin Powell. Several are still living, who were also members of the bar at the time of those I have mentioned.

I recall several noted cases in the courts. Among them was that of the civil engineers charged with killing a hostler at a Sumneytown hotel, about 1835. A noted case about 1851 was the trial of a young girl, charged with murder of her child. David Paul Brown, the great criminal lawyer, of Philadelphia, was associated with one of the leading members of our bar for her defense. Brown was a brilliant advocate, and the local counsel for the defense was of great intellectual power. B. E. Chain was the able District Attorney, and had an associate of equal legal ability. Judge Smyser was on the bench. It was a battle of the giants; nothing that could be done was left undone. Each lawyer took hours in presentation of his side of the case. The interest in the community was wrought up to the highest pitch of excitement. While there was an impression in the community of her guilt, yet the deepest sympathy prevailed in her behalf. The jury retired. In the evening the court bell rang and a rush was made for the court house. The room was soon crowded. As the jury filed in a breathless silence pervaded the assembled crowd, and when the jury announced the verdict of "Not guilty" there was loud applause. This incensed the Judge, and he ordered the tip-staffs to arrest all persons who had thus "desecrated the temple of justice." But there were no arrests. If all had been taken up they would have filled the jail.

Among the physicians here were Doctors Huddleson, Hiram and William Corson, Blackfan, Johnson, Duncan, and Thomas. Dr. Pierce was the first homeopathist located in our borough. Dr. William Corson was examining surgeon here during the Civil War.

A much respected citizen of our town was Elizabeth Thompson, familiarly known as "Aunt Betsy." Her father was the first keeper of the "old jail." It was a small building,

and stood where the court house is now. She was there at the opening of it, and her nephew, Jacob Murray, had charge of it when it was to be torn down. She was present at the last dinner given there. She lived to be one hundred and three years old. At her hundredth anniversary her friends gave her a reception. Her faculties were unimpaired up to almost the very close of life. She had seen Washington. She remembered the first execution in our county, in 1788; the man's name was John Brown. The gallows had been erected at the corner of Airy and Swede streets, but the night before the man was to be hanged some of the citizens determined that Norristown should not be disgraced by the hanging of a man and the gallows was cut down, and the man was hanged just outside the borough limits, about where Elm street is, and between Swede and DeKalb streets.

I recall the names of some newspaper men of our town: Samuel D. Patterson, of the *Register*, the leading Democratic editor of the state; James Winnard, of the *Register*; Philip R. Freas, of the *Germantown Telegraph*, learned his trade here, under David Sower, and was an apprentice with our highly respected citizen, Robert Iredell; Adam Slemmer, editor of the *Register*; Lloyd Jones, one of the most vigorous political writers the country ever had. His articles in the *Herald* over the signature of "Spectator" did more to defeat a Democratic candidate for State Senate than any other one thing. But he was intensely bitter, and no one who ever heard him denounce the Democratic party as "Loco-Focos" will ever forget his withering sarcasm. Jacob Streeper, a Norristown boy, learning his trade in the office of the Norristown *Register*, afterwards put on a successful footing the Pottstown *Ledger*. Moses Auge was a popular newspaper writer. His work entitled "Distinguished Men of the County" evinces much ability in that line. Frank Sellers, M. D., moved the *Olive Branch* from Doylestown to Norristown. It was a wide awake, aggressive temperance organ, handling the liquor question without gloves. The recent death of our genial townsman, John H. Williams, was a great loss to all. His

genius as a writer and humorist won the hearts of friends, neighbors and far-off readers.

Rev. J. Grier Ralston, D. D., principal and proprietor of the girls' school, "Oakland Institute," was a distinguished scholar and scientist. Yale College honored him by calling a newly discovered mineral after him, as "Ralstonite." Samuel Jamison and Barney McCready were successful manufacturers of cotton goods. Jacob D. Custer was a famous watchmaker and inventor. His "fog alarm" has been adopted by several countries. He constructed the first town clock we had. It was on the old court house. Laurence E. Corson, the surveyor who laid out the Norristown railroad, between here and Philadelphia, was famous all over the county and far beyond our borders. But his father, Alan W. Corson, was a born surveyor and scientist.

Col. Theodore W. Bean, as a citizen, soldier, lawyer and scholar, should long be remembered.

The military glory of Norristown is found in the names of Winfield Scott Hancock, Adam Slemmer, Albanus Stacy Powell, John F. Hartranft, Edwin Schall, and many other names made glorious by their heroic devotion in patriotic consecration to the cause of the nation in the hour of danger. No words can sound their eulogy. Their deeds lift them far above any complimentary words that can be said of these and the long list of others.

Where William Koplin has his hardware store, on Main street next to the public square, was a hotel, kept by Mr. Webb. It was here that the subscription was taken for stock of the Norristown Railroad Company. So great was the demand for the stock that a certain lawyer of Norristown hired a man to fight his way through the crowd to subscribe for some of it. The Philadelphia, Germantown and Norristown Railroad Company has gone through several changes. The stock now selling at \$127 a share (the par value, \$50, paying 12 per cent. dividends) once sold as low as a dollar a share. It was said that Mr. Carpenter, of Germantown, started his fortune by the purchase of this stock at even less than one dollar per share. I have heard that a man went to the bar

in the hotel at Bridgeport, called up some half a dozen companions to "take a drink," and offered in payment a certificate for five shares of the stock of the railroad, at \$50 per share, to pay the bill. But the bartender would not accept the tender.

In an intensely heated political campaign, when the old court house was the only place where the political parties could hold their meetings, the leaders of the Whig party and the Democratic party, styled at that time as "Loco Focoes," claimed the court house for a meeting on the same night, the Whigs first, the Democrats afterwards. But when the time came for the Whigs to vacate, their leaders refused to do so. A rush was made, the lights were put out, and a small riot started. For a while it looked serious. Constables were called upon but they were not strong enough. As a last resort, Judge Krause, at that time President Judge, was sent for. He came, got to his desk, and commanded the court room to be cleared. Lloyd Jones was thought to be the instigator of this row.

Norristown has listened to some eloquent orators of the different political parties. Burlingame created a great sensation when he spoke here. But the greatest Democratic speech of the times before the war was made here by Howell Cobb, of Georgia. He spoke between two and three hours. Every point was stated and argued with all the care and logic of a Judge's charge to a jury.

In the Clay campaign of 1844 there great political excitement. I was Secretary of a Clay club before he was nominated for President. As a printer in the *Herald* office I ran a printing press on a wagon, and distributed Whig songs in a large parade held. There were many other wagons, illustrating various industries, in the parade. But that great statesman, Clay, was defeated. The cry by the Democrats was "Polk and Dallas, and the tariff of '42." That took, and as a matter of history Dallas, although from our own state, cast the deciding vote against the principle of that tariff of "'42."

The great Daniel Webster was at Valley Forge at an ox-roast. It was said that he had been drinking, and at the open-

ing he was not himself. He noticed some one taking notes, and asking to see them he tore them up. He then went into the merits of the cause and made the great speech of the campaign.

It was noticed that at the time the digging was done for the cellars for the houses on Norris street that human bones were found. On investigating the case it was remembered that "Potter's Field" was at one time located there.

I can remember when no houses but farm buildings were to be seen northeast of Airy street and west of Stony creek. The different lands opened for improvement were the "Brown" farm, beyond Arch street, towards Sandy Hill; the "Powell" farm, between Powel and DeKalb streets; the "Jacoby" farm, between Oak and Elm streets; also, the "Chain" farm, the "Williams" farm, the "Hamill" farm, the "Haws" farm, and the "Knox" farm, in the north and west end of the borough. These were secured, cut up into lots, streets laid out, and speculation run riot for a while, up to 1857, when panic struck the country. As an illustration of the shrinkage in values at that time, I recall a loan made of three thousand dollars on some building lots. The owner failed and the lots were bought for three hundred dollars.

I remember the square bounded by Airy, DeKalb, Penn and Green streets, when it was an orchard of apple trees. Along Green street was a stone fence and a hedge of bushy shrub, full of thorns. The only building on the square was a two-story stone dwelling with a small one-story office, owned and occupied by Samuel Sherwood. This old gentleman was generous to us boys with his fruit.

In 1837 we boys attended school in the Norristown Academy, a two-story brick building that stood where the City Hall now stands. DeKalb street stopped at this point. The "academy" was on a high bluff, some twenty feet above Airy street. The school was kept at that date by Eliphalet Roberts.

One of the most noticeable changes in comparing the past with the present is in our school-houses. Norristown stands to-day in the front ranks of the state in the splendid character

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I can remember when no houses but farm buildings were to be seen northeast of Aity street and west of Stony creek. The different lands opened for improvement were the "Brown" farm, beyond Arch street, towards Sandy Hill; the "Powell" farm, between Powell and DeKalb streets; the "Ida" farm, between Oak and Elm streets; also, the "Cham" farm, the "Williams" farm, the "Hansell" farm, the "Haw" farm, and the "Knox" farm, in the north and west end of the borough. These were secured, cut up into lots, streets laid out, and speculation ran riot, for a while, up to 1837, when panic struck the country. As an illustration of the shrinkage in values at that time I recall a loan made of three thousand dollars on some building lots. The owner failed and the lots were bought for three hundred dollars.

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of the public school-houses and their equipments; but let us see them in the past. On Church street, back of the Episcopal Church, stood a two-story frame building, perhaps forty feet front by say twenty-five feet deep (in which I had the contract of making the fires); the basement of what was the First Methodist Church, on Main street, below Arch, now used as a mill; and the frame stable on the north corner of Mill and Lafayette streets. These three were our only public school-houses. Here Gen. Winfield Scott Hancock, with his twin brother Hilary; Gen. Slemmer, the "hero of Fort Pickens"; Washington T. Koplin, that superb singer; Samuel Thomas, famous as a surveyor; Albanus Stacy Powell, a graduate of West Point; the sons of Rev. David Barnard, pastor of the Baptist Church, who afterwards went into the ministry, and others of my boyhood friends started on the investigation of the "Three Rs."

When Lafayette made his visit to our country, in 1825, a company of soldiers marched from Norristown to Philadelphia to join in the honors of that occasion. John Boyer, afterwards President of the Montgomery Bank, was in the band on that march. In the riots of "forty-four," Thomas W. Potts, a druggist, and Henry Freedley, Esq., commanded companies of soldiers ordered into service at that time, but they were not called into any action.

In 1843 a paper was published here called *The Truth*. Rev. Mr. Hobart and Rev. Samuel Aaron were the editors. It was for "reform" of every sort, particularly along the line of temperance and anti-slavery. It was my privilege to circulate these documents. At this date I entered the *Herald* office to learn the "art preservative of all arts." We set the type at night with the aid of "tallow dips." We printed professional cards on a Smith press, on which we printed the *Weekly Herald*, at the rate of about 250 an hour. Election nights we sat up almost the whole night to hear the returns from the upper and lower ends. But it was always a severe blow to us Whigs when Sumneytown came in with about her entire vote on the Democratic ticket. We went home, having heard enough, but determined to "pick our flints, and try

it over again." There were townships where the whole vote was Democratic. Majorities in the county for this party ranged from 600 to 1800. It took part of three days to get the paper delivered to subscribers through the county by coaches. We "apprentice boys" took them through the borough, and on New Year's Day we went around with the "Carriers' Address," a poem of various degrees of merit. I once had an "Address" of superior quality, written by two members of the bar, Francis Dimond and B. Markley Boyer. I was the first news-reporter of the proceedings of the Town Council, when they met in the Montgomery House. Charles Christman, Andrew Hess, William H. Slingluff and Christopher Heebner were leading councilmen at that time.

An incident took place in the past that lingers in my memory. Matters of small moment abide with us when those of more importance are forgotten. Governor Shunk was in our town. He was to review the school children. Before the Governor came to the front another gentleman stood out on the platform, and we all went away impressed with the fact that we had seen a veritable Governor.

Among our early business men were James Hagen (I worked in his store in 1839), Jacob and Philip Croll, Bean & Schrack, McKay & Ramsey, McKay & Stinson, Jacob T. Moore, Jacob Childs, Jones McVaugh, Daniel Longaker, David Sower, Daniel H. Stein, W. T. Koplin, Jacob Adle, Jr. In the early years the stores were what were called country stores," groceries, dry goods, hardware, and all sorts of articles. Some even sold medicines and liquors. About the first separation of goods was a venture for dry goods at a store about where Brendlinger's dry goods house now is. David Jones McVaugh, who kept the store now occupied by Morgan Wright, on Main street, opposite the public square, gave up business on account of his impaired health, and was the first man to start here in the real estate business.

What may seem strange from our present standpoint, Norristown passed through a contest on the question as to whether the Bible should be read in the public schools. Miss Martha Aaron, the oldest daughter of Rev. Samuel Aaron,

was the teacher and principal of one department. A resolution had passed the Board of Directors, prohibiting the reading of the Bible in any of the schools, but Miss Aaron would neither resign nor would she discontinue reading the Scriptures, and the sentiment of the public sustained her.

[Read before the Historical Society by William McDermott, March 24, 1897]

BY D. L. CRATER.

My paper might aptly be called "How I Found Audubon's Home, in Montgomery County." Having occasion once to look up the name of Audubon I found that at one time he lived in Pennsylvania, but nothing further. Being fond of the study of natural history, this, together with my piscatorial habits, led me to the banks of the Perkiomen, and the place that I first happened on was Audubon's former home. I was totally ignorant of that fact at the time, but I was charmed with the place from the first, and loved to wander through the woods or float on the stream in a boat at the foot of the hill, and soon it was our stopping-place for our various excursions to the Perkiomen. Often, as I gazed at the old house, I wondered what its history was, and who had occupied it, previous to its purchase by Mr. Wetherill. In reply to a question, the tenant of the place told me that a great bird man had once lived there, but he could not recollect the name. I asked him if it was Audubon; he said he thought that was the name. He also said that one of his boys had found a cave in the woods where it was said that this man lived at times. It was some time, however, before I was able to verify this.

When Mr. Wetherill purchased the property I learned much of its history from him. In searching for the grotto that Audubon speaks of in his journal, I found the opening of the cave that the former alluded to, being along the steep hillside, about seventy-five feet above Mine creek, and about twenty-five feet from the top of the hill. At the time that I found it, the opening was nearly filled up with dirt

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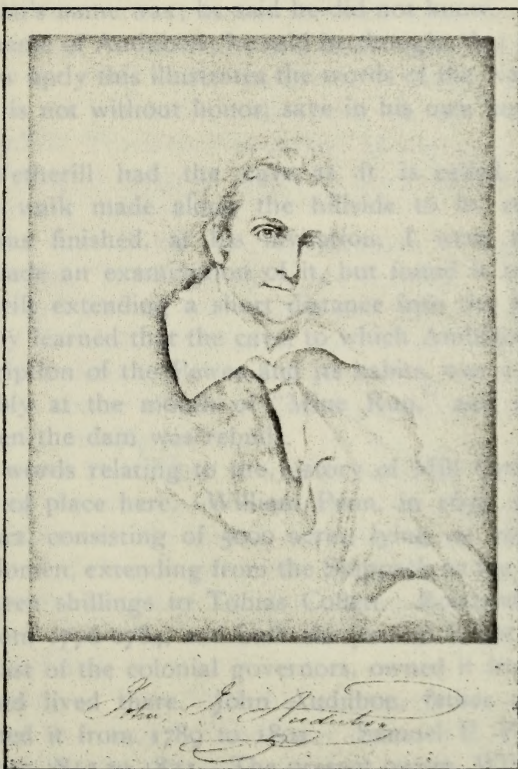
and loose stones that the action of the rain, frost and wind had brought down. I inquired of a couple of boys who were gleaning in the vicinity if they knew anything about the opening. One said that it was a cave of some "crazy man," who had a hut built against the opening and lived there. He said that the man was rich, but preferred to live there. I asked him what the man's name was.

He mentioned the name. The early days were the worst of the year. "A prophet is not without honour save in his own country and in his own house."

Mr. Weverill had the dam built. It is a good dam and a nice work made along the banks of the river. When it was finished, a large number of people came and were made an example of. But I have not seen the old dam. It is extending a distance of about a mile. I have recently learned that the dam which was built in the description of the dam was built by the same man. It was probably at the same time. The dam was removed when the dam was built.

A few words relating to the dam. It was not built in one place here. It was built in one place. The original tract consisting of 500 acres of land of the Peruvian, extending from the river to the hill, for fifty shillings to John James Audubon. He owned it in 1736, and lived there.

John James Audubon was born in the territory of Louisiana, near New Orleans, May 4th, 1780, on his father's plantation. His mother was of Spanish descent, a woman of great beauty and beauty. Audubon owned an estate in the Island of St. John.



JOHN JAMES AUDUBON.

Photograph, from Portrait, by William H. Richardson.

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and loose stones that the action of the rain, frost and wind had brought down. I inquired of a couple of boys who were gunning in the vicinity if they knew anything about the opening. One said that it was a cave of some "crazy man," who had a hut built against the opening and lived there. He said that the man was rich, but preferred to live there. I asked him what the man's name was; he said he did not know. I mentioned the name of Audubon; he said he thought that was the name. How aptly this illustrates the words of the Nazarene: "A prophet is not without honor, save in his own house and own country."

Mr. Wetherill had the cave, as it is called, opened, and a nice walk made along the hillside to its entrance. When it was finished, at his invitation, I went up, and with him made an examination of it, but found it to be an old mine drift extending a short distance into the hill. I have recently learned that the cave, to which Audubon refers in his description of the Pewee and its habits, was a natural one, probably at the mouth of "Mine Run," and was destroyed when the dam was rebuilt.

A few words relating to the history of Mill Grove may not be out of place here. William Penn, in 1699, sold the original tract, consisting of 5000 acres, lying on east bank of the Perkiomen, extending from the Skippack to the Schuylkill, for fifteen shillings to Tobias Collett. Rowland Evans owned it from 1776-1784, and built the present house. John Penn, the last of the colonial governors, owned it from 1784 to 1786, and lived there. John Audubon, father of John James, owned it from 1789 to 1804. Samuel P. Wetherill owned it from 1813 to 1833. The present owner, William H. Wetherill, purchased it in 1892. He has done much to restore it to its original appearance, and has afforded the writer every assistance in his power to look up its history, and I am indebted to him for much valuable history.

John James Audubon was born in the territory of Louisiana, near New Orleans, May 4th, 1780, on his father's plantation. His mother was of Spanish descent, a woman of great wealth and beauty. Audubon owned an estate in the Island

of St. Domingo, to which he took his family while John James was a small boy. In one of the negro revolts that occurred on the island, Audubon's mother perished, and the remainder of the family fled to Louisiana. Afterwards his father returned to France, taking his children with him, where in the course of time he married again, and left John James in care of his stepmother. His father, at that time being an officer in the French navy, returned to the United States, and became attached to the army under Lafayette. During a visit to Pennsylvania he purchased Mill Grove, on the Perkiomen creek, in Lower Providence township, Montgomery county, and, considering its romantic beauty, it is no wonder that Audubon called it a "blessed spot."

Audubon says of his early recollections of Nantes, his home in France, "It was joyous in the extreme." His stepmother indulged him in every whim and fancy, overwhelming him with kindness. His father desired that he should become a sailor, a cadet in the French navy, or an engineer, and arranged for a course of study, including mathematics, drawing, geography, fencing and music. He had for his drawing-master the noted David, and to him he owed his earliest lesson in tracing objects of natural history. Here he made frequent excursions into the country, securing birds' nests, bird eggs, moss and curious stones. His father was desirous that he should join the armies of Napoleon, but changing his mind, he sent him to America to superintend his property at Mill Grove, Pennsylvania.

On landing at New York he caught the yellow fever while walking to a bank in Greenwich street. Captain John Smith removed him to Morristown, and placed him in the care of two Quaker ladies. His father's agent, Mr. Fisher, of Philadelphia, learning of his condition, went to Morristown and conveyed him to his own home, outside of Philadelphia. After being restored to health he took possession of Mill Grove, which was occupied by a Quaker named William Thomas. "Hunting, fishing and drawing occupied my every moment," he writes, and adds "cares I knew not and cared nothing for them."

The adjoining property was owned by William Bakewell, an English gentleman. Mr. Bakewell called on Audubon, but he tells us that he was uncivil enough to avoid calling on him, and tried to avoid meeting him, because of his hatred of the English. But it happened that, while on a gunning trip, he suddenly met Mr. Bakewell and soon they were friends. He accepted Mr. Bakewell's invitation to call upon him. It was then that he met Lucy Bakewell, his future wife. In a short time the acquaintance, so pleasantly began, rapidly matured, and Audubon and Bakewell were often companions in their hunting expeditions. The friendship between Lucy and Audubon deepened. Lucy taught English to Audubon, and he in return gave her drawing lessons.

It was here that he conceived the idea of preparing an ornithological biography of the birds of America. Audubon speaks of his life at Mill Grove as being every way agreeable. He writes in his journal as follows: "I had no vices, but was thoughtless, pensive, loving, fond of shooting, fishing, riding and had a passion for raising all sorts of fowls, which sources of interest and amusement occupied my time. It was one of my fancies to be ridiculously fond of dress; to hunt in black satin breeches, wear pumps when shooting, and dress in the finest ruffled shirts I could obtain from France." He was fond of dancing, music and skating and attended all the balls and skating parties in the neighborhood. Of that period of his life he gives some useful hints on abstemious living. He says: "I ate no butchers' meat; lived chiefly on fruit, vegetables and fish, and never drank a glass of spirits or wine until my wedding day. He disliked going to dinner parties where persons were expected to indulge in eating and drinking.


He was an expert marksman, and meeting Miss Bakewell's brother one day on the ice, he made a wager that he could, while skating at full speed, put a shot into young Bakewell's cap while it was tossed in the air. The wager was accepted, and the cap was riddled at the first shot. He came near losing his life on one of his trips on the Perkiomen by

skating into an air-hole at night. He disappeared under the ice, but came up farther down the stream where there was another airhole, where he held on to the ice until his companions rescued him and took him to Lucy's home for the time being. He was nearly three months in recovering from this mishap.

During this period his father sent over a "tutor," by the name of Da Costa, who objected to the proposed union between him and Miss Bakewell. Audubon resented this interference, and demanded money to return to France. Da Costa finally agreed to give him a letter of credit on an agent in New York, named Kanman. He walked the entire distance to New York in three days, and applied to Kanman, who told him that he had no money to give him, and disclosed Da Costa's treachery by hinting that Audubon should be seized and shipped to China. He then obtained money from a friend and set sail for home. He remained at home for about a year, spending his time in collecting specimens of natural history. During that time he completed two hundred drawings of European birds.

The conflict with Russia was then brewing. It was decided that Audubon should join the navy. After passing the examination, he was ordered to Rochefort, but he only made one short cruise. Then, through his father's influence, he was granted a leave of absence, and he and Ferdinand Rosier sailed for America. During the voyage they were chased and forced to heave to and be boarded by the English privateer Rattlesnake. Finding that their vessel was an American ship, flying the Stars and Stripes, the privateer was content to steal from it the pigs and sheep, and two of the best sailors, and also searched the vessel for money, of which there was a large sum, but they did not find it. Within thirty miles of Sandy Hook they were warned that two British frigates lay off the entrance, and had fired at an American vessel, so they ran through Long Island Sound, reached New York in safety, and were soon at Mill Grove.

A brother of Lucy Bakewell has recorded some of his impressions of Audubon of that period. He says: "Audu-



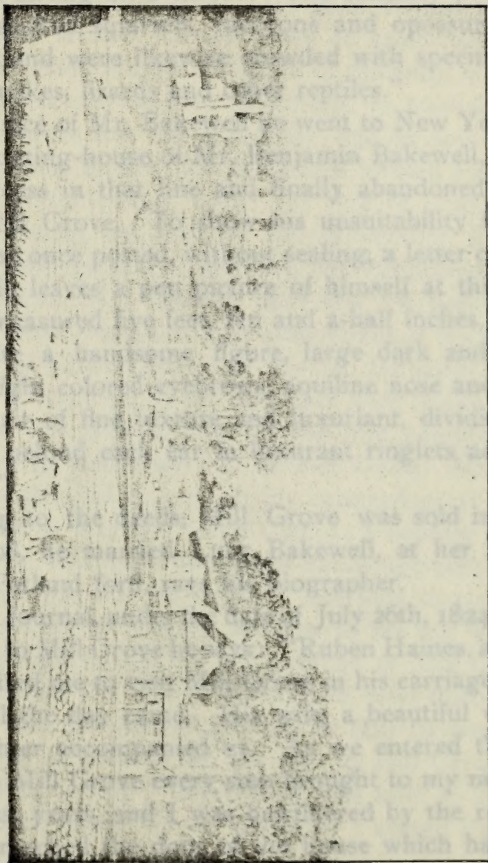
AUDUBON'S HOUSE, MILL
From photograph by William

GROVE
H. Richard

A black and white photograph of a large, multi-story house with a prominent chimney and a porch, identified as the author's father's residence. The house has a complex roofline with multiple gables and a large central chimney. The porch is wide and appears to have a decorative railing. The house is surrounded by trees and foliage, suggesting a rural or suburban setting. The photograph is framed by a simple black border.

AUDUBON'S HOUSE, MILL GROVE FARM.

From photograph by William H. Richardson



bon took me to his house, where he and his companion, Rosier, reside, with Mr. Thomas for an attendant. On entering his room I was astonished to find it turned into a museum. The walls were festooned with all sorts of birds' eggs, carefully blown out and strung on a thread. The chimney piece was covered with stuffed squirrels, raccoons and opossums, and the shelves around were likewise crowded with specimens of fishes, frogs, snakes, lizards and other reptiles."

On the advice of Mr. Bakewell he went to New York and entered the counting-house of Mr. Benjamin Bakewell, but he was not a success in that line and finally abandoned it and returned to Mill Grove. To show his unsuitability for this work he says he once posted, without sealing, a letter containing \$8000. He leaves a pen picture of himself at this time. He says: "I measured five feet, ten and a-half inches, was of fair mien, quite a handsome figure, large dark and rather sunken eyes, light colored eyebrows, aquiline nose and a fine set of teeth, hair of fine texture and luxuriant, dividing and passing down behind each ear in luxuriant ringlets as far as the shoulders."

According to the deeds, Mill Grove was sold in 1804. April 8th, 1808, he married Lucy Bakewell, at her father's residence, at Fatland ford, says his biographer.

But in his journal, under the date of July 26th, 1824, in describing a visit to Mill Grove he says: "Ruben Haines, a generous friend, invited me to visit Mill Grove in his carriage. I was impatient until the day came. His wife, a beautiful woman, and her daughter accompanied us. As we entered the avenue leading to Mill Grove every step brought to my mind the memory of past years, and I was bewildered by the recollection until we reached the door of the house which had once been the residence of my father, as well as of myself. The cordial welcome of Mr. Wetherill, the owner, was extremely agreeable. After resting a few moments, I abruptly took my hat and ran wildly towards the woods to the grotto where I first heard from my wife the acknowledgment that she was not indifferent to me. We dined at Mill Grove, and as I entered the parlor I stood motionless for a moment *on the spot*

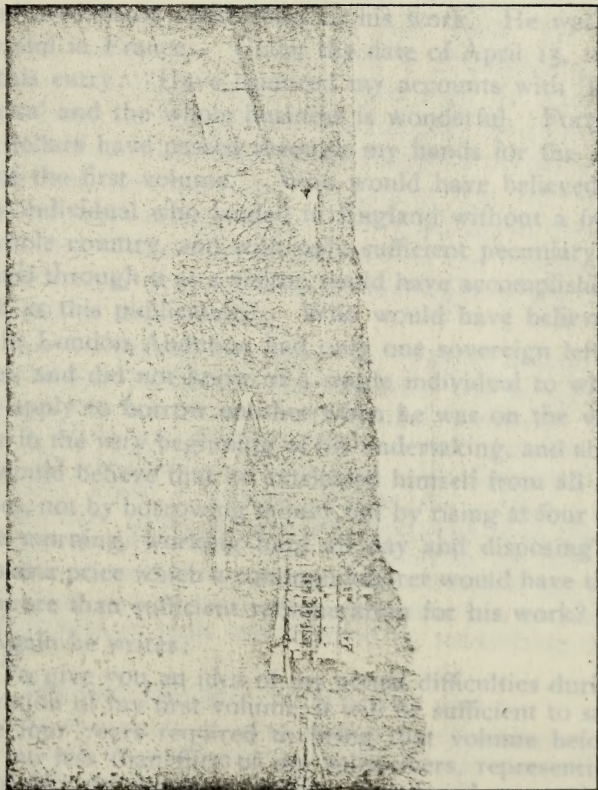
where my wife and myself were forever joined." This would seem to indicate that he was married in the Mill Grove house.

After his marriage he went to Louisville, Kentucky. He remained there until about 1812. It was here that he met Wilson, the American ornithologist. He gave Wilson valuable assistance, which Wilson did not seem to appreciate. At that time he had made a large collection of drawings of American birds, but had not decided to attempt to publish them. His business venture was not successful, and he sold his interest to his partner, Rosier. He afterwards formed a partnership with his brother-in-law, under the title of Audubon & Co., at New Orleans, but, like his former venture, it was a failure, as he spent his time in hunting new specimens of ornithology in Kentucky. Shortly after this his father died, leaving him \$17,000, deposited with a merchant at Richmond, and a property in France, which he gave to his sister. The \$17,000 he never received, as the merchant died insolvent before the matter was settled, thus leaving him penniless. It was while living in Kentucky that he met Daniel Boone.

In 1824 he decided to publish his ornithological collection. April 10th he met the Prince Canino, a nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte, who gave him much encouragement. Under June 26th of this year he writes: "Anxious to carry out my project of a visit to Europe, anxious to see my wife before leaving, anxious to see my old quarters at Mill Grove." July 12th he records the visit of Mr. Gilpin, who thirty-three years previous had discovered lead ore at Mill Grove. Under July 26, 1824, he records his last visit to Mill Grove, and closes the entry by saying: "Everybody was kind to me and invited me to come to the 'Grove' whenever I visited Pennsylvania. I returned full of delight."

He soon afterward started for Bayou Sara, and arrived there the latter part of November. His family were residing there at that time. His wife, he says, was receiving at that time an income of nearly three thousand dollars a year. He opened a dancing school about December 1, 1824, and it brought him an income of two thousand dollars. This, with

He arrived at Liverpool July 24, 1826, and spent much time in arranging for the publication of his "Birds of America," which was of double elephant folio, the plates being life size. In his prospectus he says: "The work is to appear in numbers, of which five are to be published annually, each consisting of five plates." This work cost him \$100,000. In England he met and was introduced to the aristocracy and men of science, and



MILL GROVE HOUSE.
From a Painting in Hallway. Photographed by William H. Richardson

London.

his wife's help, placed him in a position to take his drawings to Europe to have them published.

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Again he writes:

"To give you an idea of my actual difficulties during the publication of my first volume, it will be sufficient to say that in the four years required to bring that volume before the world no less than fifty of my subscribers, representing the sum of fifty-six thousand dollars, abandoned me, and whenever a few withdrew I was forced to leave London and go to the provinces to obtain others to supply their places in order to enable me to raise the money to meet the expense of engraving, coloring paper, printing, etc."

September 3, 1831, Audubon returned to New York, and

spent much time in Florida, searching for new specimens for his work. The following year he spent some time in Maine and Canada for the same purpose.

In June, 1833, he and four other persons, George Shattuck, Thomas Lincoln, William Ingalls and Joseph Coolidge, chartered a schooner for fifteen hundred dollars and made a trip to Labrador, where he secured many specimens for his "Birds of America." After spending two months in Labrador he returned to New York, September 7, 1833; then to Philadelphia, after three weeks stay in New York. He did not receive any subscribers for his work in Philadelphia, but at Baltimore he received four. He then went to Washington to try to make an arrangement to accompany an expedition to the Rocky Mountains, under the patronage of the government, and called on Governor Cass, Secretary of War, who received him coldly and indifferently. But Washington Irving introduced him to Mr. Lancy, Secretary of the Treasury, who gave him a letter granting him the privileges of the revenue cutter south of Delaware Bay.

Under the date of September 29, 1836, he writes:

"Mr. Isaac P. Davis called to invite me to spend the evening at his house and meet Daniel Webster. I met him at a Historical Society, where I saw the last epaulets worn by our glorious Washington. Mr. Davis had some fine pictures which I enjoyed looking at. After a while Daniel Webster came in, and we welcomed each other as friends indeed. After the usual compliments we had much conversation respecting my publication. We took tea, talked of ornithology and ornithologists. He promised to send me some specimens of birds and finished by subscribing to my work."

Mr. Webster gave him the following note:

"I take this mode of commending Mr. Audubon to any friends of mine he may meet in his journey to the West. I have not only great respect for Mr. Audubon's scientific pursuits, but entertain for him personally much esteem and hearty good wishes. Daniel Webster."

November 8th, of the same year, Washington Irving gave him letters of introduction to Benjamin F. Butler, then Attorney General of the United States, and Martin Van

Buren. November 9th he says, "We"—that is, his son John and himself—"dined with President Jackson." He says the dinner was what you might call plain and substantial. The General drank no wine, and for his last dish he had bread and milk.

During the winter of 1836 and 1837 he spent much of his time along the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, securing specimens for his work. He returned to England the latter part of the summer of 1837, and finished his ornithological biography in the fall of 1838 and finished his drawings for "Birds of America." In the latter part of 1839 he went to New York to spend the remainder of his days, and immediately began the preparation of his last ornithological work, which was a copy of his original English publication with the figures reduced and lithographed in seven volumes.

March 11th, 1843, he started on his trip to the Yellowstone river. This journey lasted about eight months. He returned to New York in October, 1843, and began his work "Quadrupeds of North America." He completed the first volume of it in two years, which was nearly the last work he did. The most of the second volume was prepared by his sons and published the year of his death. The last years of his life were spent at his home in New York city. It was then in the country. It consisted of twenty-four acres; about half of it was high level ground; other was sloping toward the river. He named the place Minni Land, Minnie being the Scotch for mother. About half of this estate is now known as Audubon Park. Parke Godwin, who visited Audubon there in 1846, says:

"The house was simple and unpretentious in its architecture and beautifully embowered amid elms and oaks; several graceful fawns and a noble elk were stalking in the shade of the trees, apparently unconscious of the presence of a few dogs, and not caring for the numerous turkeys, geese and other domestic animals that gabbled and screamed around them, nor did my approach startle the wild beautiful creatures, that seemed as docile as any of their tame companions."

Speaking of Audubon, he says:

"His greeting as he entered was at once frank and cordial and showed you the sincere man."

Another visitor to his home says:

"There were several things that stamped themselves indelibly upon my mind. The wonderful simplicity of the man was the most remarkable. His enthusiasm for facts made him unconscious of himself. To make him happy you only had to give him a few facts in natural history, or show him a rare bird. His self forgetfulness was very impressive. I felt that I had found a man who asked homage for God and nature and not for himself. When I left him I said I have seen Audubon and am thankful."

Another author has said:

"It is hard to confine one's self to dates and times when contemplating Audubon. He belongs to all time. He was born, but he can never die."

In 1848 his mind entirely failed him, and during the last years of his life he had to be led by the hand in his daily walks. He died Thursday morning, January 27th, 1851. He was buried in the Trinity Church Cemetery, adjoining his estate.

In April, 1893, a monument to his memory was unveiled at Amsterdam avenue and 115th street, New York. The monument is twenty-five feet high. The cross is one solid block weighing seven tons. The cost of the monument was ten thousand dollars. But his greatest monument is his "Birds of America," the most gigantic work ever attempted by a single individual, says some one, costing him over one hundred thousand dollars, and sold for one thousand dollars per copy.

Some one has also said: "His 'Birds of America' places him in the front ranks of the world's great men, and in this line he has never been excelled, if equalled."

Baron Cuvier said, in his report to the French Academy of Science:

"His 'Birds of America' is the most magnificent monument which has yet been erected to ornithology."

Gerard said:

"Mr. Audubon, you are the king of ornithological painters. We are all children in France and Europe. Who would have expected such things from the woods of America?"

The original plates from which his work was printed have

been destroyed. There are a few copies of the folio size still in the United States. It consists of four volumes printed in London 1827-1830. The Astor, Lenox and Mercantile Libraries of New York each have a set. Mrs. J. Bloomfield Wetherill, of Smithville, Long Island, New York, has a set; also Doctor Russell, of Hartford, Connecticut. There is one in the Public Library of Boston. There are quite a number of the octavo size, seven volumes, in existence. The best preserved set that I have seen is the one owned by William H. Wetherill, and can be seen at Mill Grove farm, Audubon's former home. His original drawings are in possession of the New York Historical Society, and may be seen at 170 Second avenue, New York. There are but two of his descendants living. They are Maria and Florence Audubon, daughters of his son, John Woodhouse Audubon. They live at Salem, New York, and were the guests of Mr. Wetherill at Mill Grove a few years previous.

In closing this feeble attempt to recall and perpetuate the remembrance of this great ornithologist, I have been surprised that we, living in close proximity to his former home, should have almost forgotten that so great a man lived and moved in our midst at a time not so very far removed, and that the neighborhood tradition should be that a crazy man once lived there. Mr. Wetherill deserves much credit for rescuing the place, and throwing it open to all who desire to visit it. He suggests that the Historical Society take in consideration the advisability of erecting somewhere on the farm a tablet suitably inscribed to the memory of John James Audubon, the greatest of all ornithologists.

[Read before the Historical Society by D. L. Crater, March 24, 1897.]

There was amongst his family a son named Gabriel, a keen youth who could not well content himself in the still and contemplative life of the pious Mennonites, but found great delight in the chase, for which the extensive woodlands then in the vicinity of Germantown offered a rich opportunity. Notwithstanding all the warnings of his timid friends, the spirit of adventure on his hunting expeditions made closer acquaint-

FRANCONIA AND LOWER SALFORD STORIES.

BY ABRAHAM H. CASSEL.

A CENTENARIAN HERCULES.

In the township of Lower Salford there resided in times gone by a Pennsylvania German family named Schuler. This family became more extensively known by the circumstance that one of them, Miss Lydia Schuler, in company with several other religiously inclined ladies, made a journey to Palestine and the Holy Sepulchre, the incidents of which she pictured in some ably written letters in the *Gospel Visitor*, the organ of the Dunker sect.

The ancestors of this family resided at the close of the seventeenth and the beginning of the last century in Germantown, at that time the rendezvous of the German emigration, from whence they spread over the English colonies of that, and the United States of the present day. The stem-father of the family, a follower of Menno Simmons, the anabaptist, and therefore the object of persecution from state and church in the old fatherland, had, in company with many thousands of his brethren in the faith, forsaken the old home to seek an asylum in America, where he after his fashion might become happy.

There was amongst his family a son named Gabriel, a keen youth who could not well content himself in the still and contemplative life of the pious Mennonites, but found great delight in the chase, for which the extensive woodlands then in the vicinity of Germantown offered a rich opportunity. Notwithstanding all the warnings of his timid friends, the spirited youth on his hunting expeditions made closer acquaint-

FRANCONIA AND LOWER SAFFORD STORIES

BY ABRAHAM H. CASSEL.

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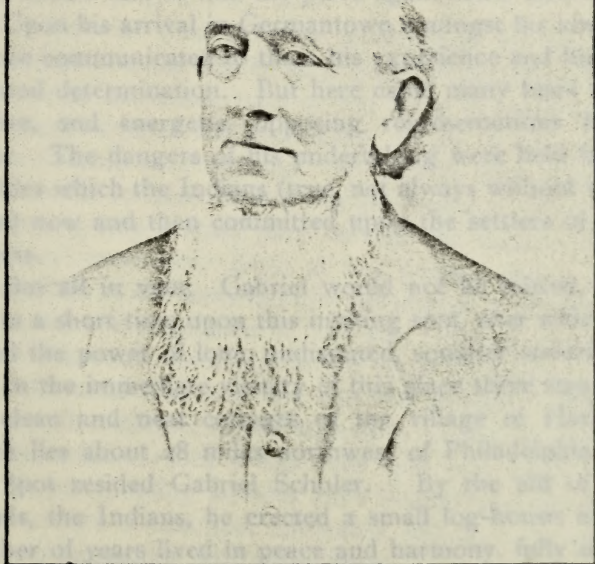
The ancestors of this family resided at the close of the seventeenth and the beginning of the last century in German-town, at that time the rendezvous of the German emigration, from whence they spread over the English colonies of that and the United States of the present day. The stem-father of the family, a follower of Menno Simmons, the anabaptist, and therefore the object of persecution from state and church in the old fatherland, had, in company with many thousands of his brethren in the faith, forsaken the old home to seek an asylum in America, where he after his fashion might become happy.

There was amongst his family a son named Gabriel, a keen youth who could not well content himself in the still and contemplative life of the pious Mennonites, but found great delight in the chase, for which the extensive woodlands then in the vicinity of Germantown offered a rich opportunity. Notwithstanding all the warnings of his kind friends, the spirited youth on his hunting expeditions made chase against-

ance with the true natives of America, the Indians, who he came pleased with the keen German youth—at least they gave him no occasion of complaint. On one of his journeyings, when he had risked himself twenty to thirty and even more miles into the wilderness, he found in the midst of a dark wood a light opening, a wilderness of flowers, of the most fragrant grass and beautiful flowers, which made such an impression on his fancy that he at once firmly determined to make it his abode.

He turns his steps homeward, like a true son of the woods, the Indians for his guide, now and then marking a tree with his ax to enable him to find the place again some day.

Upon his arrival at Antwerp, he at once communicated his plans to his friends, and they, with a mixture of determination and enthusiasm, gave him the most ardent and energetic encouragement. They were fully aware of the dangers which the lonely settler would have to encounter, but they were so much interested in his plans, and so much attached to him, that they were willing to share his fate. The dangers which the lonely settler would have to encounter, but they were so much interested in his plans, and so much attached to him, that they were willing to share his fate.



ABRAHAM H. CASSEL.

There came in time more and more white, and especially German settlements. Where formerly was nothing but the single wigwam, arose now near and roomy farm-houses, and where but a short time before was heard naught but the yelling call of the wild man, arose now the sound of the white harrow, now, as the melody of an old German church song. The immigrants began to establish themselves comfortably. They entered into family bonds, wedded and were wedded, and one

ance with the true natives of America, the Indians, who became pleased with the keen German youth—at least they gave him no occasion of complaint. On one of his journeyings, when he had risked himself twenty to thirty and even more miles into the wilderness, he found in the midst of a dark woods a large opening, a wonderfully clear place, full of the most thrifty grass and beautiful flowers, which made such an impression on his fancy that he at once firmly determined to make it his abode.

He turns his steps homeward, like a true son of the woods, the sun for his guide, now and then marking a tree with his ax to enable him to find the place again some future day.

Upon his arrival in Germantown amongst his kindred, he at once communicated to them his experience and his already matured determination. But here came many tears from his mother, and energetic, opposing representations from his father. The dangers of his undertaking were held forth, the cruelties which the Indians (true, not always without sufficient cause) now and then committed upon the settlers of the wilderness.

But all in vain. Gabriel would not be misled, but settled in a short time upon this inviting spot, over which he declared the power of lone, undisputed, squatter sovereignty.

In the immediate vicinity of this place there stand to-day the clean and neat cottages of the village of Harleysville, which lies about 28 miles northwest of Philadelphia. Upon this spot resided Gabriel Schuler. By the aid of his old friends, the Indians, he erected a small log-house, and for a number of years lived in peace and harmony, fully employed in the cultivation of his possessions.

There came in time more and more white, and mostly German settlements. Where formerly was nothing but the simple wigwam, arose now neat and roomy farm-houses, and where but a short time before was heard naught but the yelling call of the wild man, arose now the sound of the white hunters' horn, or the melody of an old German church tune. The immigrants began to establish themselves comfortably. They entered into family bonds, wedded and were wedded, and our

friend was not the last to go sparking and bring home his darling.

At last a serious question confronted the squatter sovereignty. The colonial government of England recollected that she somehow was the owner of the settlers' soil, and therefore ordered a general survey of the land, the immediate consequence of which was that every one, who was not in possession of a legal title to his land, was compelled to obtain one. The settlers submitted to this rule, for the then German squatter did not belong to that species of American squatter of our day, who would answer every inquiry of deed with a "six-barrel."

Gabriel Schuler then paid the government for his land and was, independent of this, in such good circumstances that he purchased an additional tract of 700 acres of woodland, a few miles northwest of his homestead, which to-day partly forms the township of Franconia. He shortly after sold his old farm in order to move on his new possessions. He cultivated, however, only a small part, leaving the balance in its primitive rural condition. Even at this present day a considerable portion of the early Schuler possession is woodland, and still retains the cognomen of "the 700," though many of the folks of Franconia township do not know its origin.

The outlines of "the 700" are still well defined. There are here no such extensive improvements as we find elsewhere in the neighborhood. But it has been split into small parcels, and the surrounding farmers have bought and attached piece by piece and at last have cultivated, although the same may not be in connection with their farms.

Gabriel Schuler spent considerable of his lifetime upon the northern half of "the 700." He saw the generation to which he belonged sink into the grave and another spring into life, and other elements and habits of life were made manifest. His head began to show the signs of frosty age, for many, very many winters had blown over it since the days when he as a youth hunted with the Indian. They now had removed westward, and met the "pale face" with no great retributive friendship.

In the course of time a carpenter made a purchase and settled on the south side of "the 700." He built houses, for the time had already gone by when a log-house of his own building and the aid of a few neighbors satisfied the settler. To this carpenter's instructions Gabriel Schuler gave his favorite son, whose name has flown from my memory. It was on a rainy day when, as was customary on such days, a numerous collection of farmers from the neighborhood had congregated in the workshop of the carpenter, entertaining themselves with the conversation over the latest events of the day, when suddenly the door opens and old Gabriel Schuler enters with a heavy ax on his shoulder. Without a word of congratulation, or the utterance of anything, he advances to the grindstone, to the surprise of all present, for it was at other times not his mood to be either wordless or surly. "Let some one turn the grindstone for me," says he at last, upon which the proprietor gave the wink to Schuler's own son to do so. Old Gabriel continued for a long time to sharpen his ax, frequently examining its edge, but not a word spake he to the assembly. A holy seriousness lay upon his expression; something important must be working within him. What might it be? No one of those present could fathom his behavior. Some thought that the old man, whom they had never before seen in such a mood, had suddenly lost his senses and was brooding mischief. But others imagined some danger for which he was preparing himself—a frightful and exterminating visit, perchance, from the Indians. At last old Gabriel, having ground his ax, replaced it upon his shoulder and remarked abruptly: "Now let each one follow me." "Shall we take arms along?" asked those present. "Let each one do as he pleases," answered the sage man. The whole assemblage, some of whom had armed themselves with old rifles and the tools of the carpenter, followed. On they went towards "the 700." Soon they arrived at an open space in the woods, where a halt was made, whereupon the sage addressed his companions, who burned with curiosity, as follows: "Now let each of you go singly into the woods to select a fine, large tree, but when you hear the trumpet you will return again to

this spot. The company scattered and did as was ordered. Soon the trumpet sounded and each one found himself again upon the spot. The sage was now led by the farmers to the trees which they had selected, but at each one he shook his head. Having examined each one he took them to the tree which *he* had selected. "You have found many fine and robust trees, but none reaches this oak," said he. And so it was, for the old man had found the finest and strongest tree. He now threw off his jacket and with his ax got at the tree. The farmers formed a ring around him, as they were the astonished observers. None knew what this circumstance could indicate, each burned with a desire to fathom it. The sage smote on nor spake a word. Already had he cut through half of the tree when he changed his ax into his other hand, and cut from his left as before from his right, not even changing his post of standing nor resting even for a moment. Before the lapse of one hour the second half was cut through. The tree tottered, it broke, it fell, and with a triumphant laugh for the first time the sage straightened up from his labor, looking now upon the observers, now upon the fallen oak.

Finally he mounted upon the stump and spoke as follows: "I will now explain the meaning of this. To-day I am 100 years old, and to you I would bear evidence of my well maintained strength. I desire now of each of you the solemn promise that his tree, which to-day I felled before you, without resting, shall remain in its present position, nor be disturbed nor removed by any one." Those present granted this solemnly, and their promise was kept. But a few years ago (so says my informant) the remnants of the time-decayed oak which Gabriel Schuler leveled on his 100th birthday, could still be seen.

After this herculean effort the old man still lived seven, some say nine years, when he died in peace, as he had lived and worked, the unshaken pioneer of civilization and of German enterprise, which has opened the wilds of Pennsylvania and made them the finest paradise of the world.

I have considered it worth the while to sketch his history, inasmuch as it is the history of a brave man. In the mean-

time there are at the present day still to be found such men as Gabriel Schuler among the Pennsylvania Germans, and mostly among the Dunkers and Mennonites. Whatever views we may have as to the religious principles of these people, we cannot but hold them as good as those of any other religious sect. It is certain that they lead sober and decent lives, which end in an advanced and robust age.

THE SOLDIERS AT JOHN JOHNSON'S.

Mathias Jantz, or Johnson, emigrated to America about 1730, or perhaps earlier, and settled on a farm of 185 acres in Franconia township, just back of Franconiaville, now Elroy, which he bought of John and Elenor Williams on February 28, 1735 or 1736. He left it by will dated June 20, 1750, to his son John, who had the following twelve children: Mathias, John Jr., Henry, Abraham; Elizabeth, married Valentine or Felty Anderson, and was the mother of old Mollie Price, the widow of Daniel Price and the mother of Rev. Henry A. Price. Next was Fanny; she never was married. Annie married Jakob Grubb, father of the eminent Mennonite preacher, John Grubb; Mollie married Peter Johnson; Hannah married Valentine or Felty Clemmer. Then came Veronica, who was never married; then Catharine, married to Abraham Benner; Feige, the twelfth, was likewise never married.

The above last-mentioned Mathias, Jr.'s son, John Johnson, was the father of my uncle, Samuel Johnson, who died July 11, 1873, aged 80 years, 8 months and 24 days. He was also the father of Eli, Tobias and Henry Johnson and of Mary Johnson, wife of John Funk, who lived near the Skippack, east of Mainland.

But of more importance is the fact that the first-mentioned John Jantz, or Johnson, Sr., was in good circumstances and a notable patriot in the cause of freedom during the American Revolution. So after the unfortunate battle of Germantown a part of the American army was dispersed and for a while loitered along the Skippack and Towamencin creeks,

during which time many of the sick and wounded were quartered in farm houses through the country, and as this Mr. Jantz was such a friend to the cause of freedom he freely opened his large, and for those times very commodious house, to receive such. Consequently several wagon loads were brought there, with a nurse to take care of them. Besides these he boarded ten officers or soldiers of the regular army for a while, during which time General Washington had his quarters on what has long been known as the Wampole farm, formerly Lukens', near the Skippack, about one and one-half miles south of Jantz's place, and often associated with them while there. After being there for some time there was an alarm that the English were approaching, which caused such a consternation that all who could fled towards Oley, with all the doctors in the vicinity. Mr. Jantz and his daughter remained and assisted so much in waiting on the sick, who had the camp fever, that they also took sick with it. Mr. Jantz died soon after. Fanny suffered from the effects of it for a long time, beyond description. It is said that her whole body was so stiff that no limb or joint would bend, and she could not be raised up without standing her on her feet, and no doctor was within reach to attend her. In this terrible condition she was conveyed on a rudely constructed litter all the way from beyond Elroy to the doctors at Oley for medical attendance. She recovered against all expectation and finally died near Doylestown, at an advanced age, of cancer in the face.

To accommodate these soldier boarders, who had a great deal of writing to do, Mr. Johnson had a fine cherry table with carved legs made for them by Han Jakob Hagey, an ingenious carpenter who lived close by, upon which they ate and wrote while at his house. This table was carefully preserved in the family as an heirloom, and in 1882 was in possession of his granddaughter, Mrs. Mollie A. Price. The table is so good yet that it scarcely shows being used, although over 100 years old. Mrs. Price died November 21, 1886, aged nearly 90 years. The table was sold with her other effects at public sale on January 15, 1887, and was bought by Gustav Egolf, of Norristown, for \$4.50.

A CONTINENTAL TEAMSTER.

George Anders, a member of the Schwenkfelder sect, then living on a farm, long since known as the Meschter farm, had two very fine horses, and so also had his friend and neighbor, Abraham Kriebel. These, together with their handsome new wagon, just from the wheelwright, were pressed into the service of the Continental army. Anders felt such a tender concern for his pet horses that he could hardly let them go, fearing they might not be properly cared for. He therefore offered his son Abraham, then 18 years old, to go with the horses as their groom and teamster or driver. The offer was of course gladly accepted. After he had served awhile and had gained the confidence of the superior officers he was sometimes sent considerable distances with this team for various commodities. So on one occasion he thought to take advantage of their confidence and attempted to make his escape with the team, but he dared not come home for fear of being arrested. He was therefore making his way towards Old Goshenhoppen, in Berks county, where many Schwenkfelders lived, to his uncle, George Kriebel. But he was pursued and overtaken, before he reached there, by the Superintendent of Transport. He escaped punishment by artfully pleading that he had lost his way and became so bewildered as to not know where he was. As he was yet so young, and was supposed to be inexperienced about the country, the officer believed his story and therefore merely ordered him back again without any further punishment. He then served till the army was so far removed that his further services could be dispensed with. Then he got an honorable discharge, and came home with the wagon and all the horses in splendid condition.

This was frequently related to me by his grandson and others of his descendants.

[Read before the Historical Society, October 28, 1896.]

WASHINGTON AT PENNEBECKER'S MILLS.

BY HENRY W. KRATZ.

We are assembled to-day at Schwenksville, in Perkiomen township, Montgomery county, under the auspices of the Historical Society of this county.

This village, like many others in various sections of this growing county, has been favored by the impetus of enterprise and thrift, inherent in people of intelligence and industry. It sprang up from a very humble beginning in 1849 when it contained what was then known as Schwenk's inn and store, the house of J. Steiner and a blacksmith shop, and grew and developed to its present size and importance, having now a population of about four hundred and fifty.

The establishment of a post office through the efforts of Jacob G. Schwenk at his store in 1872 gave it its present name. By the construction of the Perkiomen and Sumneytown turnpike in 1846, the Perkiomen Railroad in 1868, its expansion steadily increased until it is possessed of two good hotels, two large stores, three most creditable church edifices, a printing and newspaper establishment from which the *Schwenksville Item* is issued weekly, clothing house, marble yard, railroad depot, two mills, lumber and coal yard, bakery and a National Bank with a capital of \$100,000, whose success is best attested by its present surplus of \$79,000.

The homes of its people in architectural design, quality, neatness and beauty are striking proofs of good management and progress. The beautiful valleys, hills and fertile farms around and beyond the village are the fortunes of a busy and honest yeomanry, whose family history in many instances

reaches back to the time that tried men's souls, the epoch of American Independence.

As you have observed in your journey hither, the village is situate along the beautiful and picturesque stream of the Perkiomen, containing environments which are historic, and therefore have become subjects of important inquiry.

- Meandering through an agricultural region its waters nevertheless contribute in some measure to commercial activity and business enterprise.

This creek, which drives the wheels of other mills, propels the noted mill which in Revolutionary times was known as "Pennebecker's mill," and as such became famous in local history; and although changed in appearance, as to locality and purpose it continues to be a monument of military rendezvous upon the camping ground of a portion at least of the American army in this vicinity in 1777. Among those who composed the army that encamped on these hills and in these valleys were doubtless many farmers, in kind such as live in this part of Pennsylvania to-day, who enlisted in the service with men of other callings in life to terminate the tyranny of King George's government. During the battle of Bunker Hill it was in evidence that undisciplined farmers could stand firmly before the bayonet charge and musket fire of British regulars. And because of the courage, bravery and endurance of the American soldier, the victory was complete. After that battle Washington exclaimed, "England has lost her colonies forever."

Because the place of our meeting to-day is on historic ground, the subject assigned me for this occasion is "Washington's Encampment at Pennebecker's Mills."

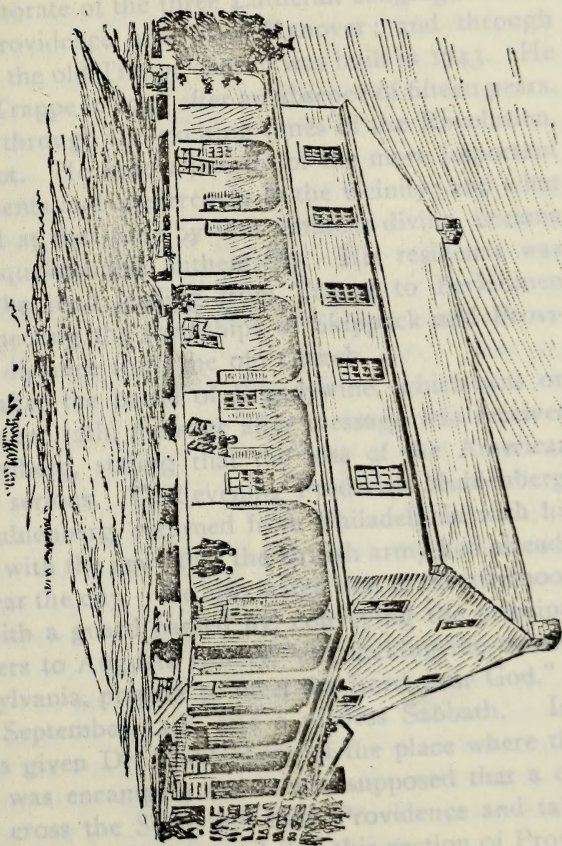
By mills, as cited in journals and histories, we understand to mean that there was a fulling mill to full cloth erected in 1755 by Peter Pennebecker, which was doubtless standing along with the flour and chopping mill, which was erected in 1730 by Hans J. Heijt (Heide) on a tract of six hundred acres of land, at the time of the encampment at Pennebecker's mills. The old flour and chopping mill was torn down in 1822, and the present one erected in its stead by John Zieber. The mill

property is owned by George Kramer and leased by George Shoemaker. The farm owned at the time of the encampment by Samuel Pennebecker is now owned by Josiah Hunsicker, and the house thereon in many respects is the same as then, changes in the interior having been made since, and also on the exterior as to roof and preservation of walls. Both mills and the lands belonging thereto were then the property of said Samuel Pennebecker. His descendants now spell their name Pennypacker.

In order to locate the American army in this vicinity and the encampment at Pennebecker's Mills we must follow the movements of the army from the battle of Brandywine into Montgomery county and through portions of said county until we find it in Perkiomen township and encamped at the mills. In doing so we must combine these movements and marches through the townships of Providence and Skippack. Their geographical and topographical relations as viewed by George Washington and his officers, led them to select these townships for encampment and effective military operations.

The time then when these townships became marching grounds and occupied by the American army, was after the battle of Brandywine and up to and after the battle of Germantown. The battle of Brandywine was fought and lost on the 11th of September, 1777. In gleaning information and gathering facts to establish the encampment of Washington's army, or at least a portion thereof at Pennebecker's mills, in Skippack township, as known at that time, we rely upon journals, diaries, and other papers which were kept by men who were on the ground, who were observers, and who recorded day by day occurrences in details as they transpired, which the authors of United States history regarded as mere local incidents, and failed to recognize as of sufficient importance to place upon record. And it is fortunate for the sake of perpetuating facts in local history, and according proper credit for noble deeds performed to those who would otherwise be eternally buried in oblivion, that historical societies have been organized to make research among omitted and discarded rec-

HOUSE OF SAMUEL PENNEBECKER.
By courtesy of Singer & Hillegrass, Pennsburg.



ords and spread them upon their annals and preserve them in their archives as valuable mementoes of the past.

The first source of information is that furnished by Rev. Henry Melchoir Muhlenberg, who about November 25, 1742, assumed the pastorate of the three Lutheran congregations at Philadelphia, Providence and New Hanover; and through whose exertions the old Trappe church was built in 1743. He moved back to Trappe in 1776 after an absence of fifteen years, and lived there through the exciting times of the Revolution, an ardent patriot. He kept a journal of the more important military movements and occurrences in the vicinity; and what was journalized at that time by that eminent divine, became a record of unquestionable authenticity. His residence was situated near the road leading from Trappe to Perkiomen creek and connecting the townships of Skippack and Providence, a short distance from the old church.

The day after the battle of Brandywine, which was on Friday, September 12th, message after message was received by Dr. Muhlenberg, stating that the loss of the American army was very serious. That evening Frederick Muhlenberg, son of Dr. Muhlenberg, returned from Philadelphia with his wife and child with the news that the British army had already approached near the city. He also stated that in the afternoon six wagons with a guard passed by, conveying the principal captive Quakers to Augusta county, Va., making the outcry, "Now, Pennsylvania, prepare to meet the Lord your God."

Sunday, September 14th, was a restless Sabbath. Information was given Dr. Muhlenberg of the place where the British army was encamped, and it was supposed that a division would cross the Schuylkill near Providence and take the great road to Philadelphia, and that this section of Providence more certainly would be the scene of marching, or even the battle field.

On Tuesday, September 16th, Dr. Muhlenberg observes that during the day we heard towards the southwest about fourteen miles from us, a sharp battle with field pieces and small arms in the midst of a heavy rain. This was the battle of Warren Tavern, Chester county. Here an engagement

was commenced during a pouring rain which necessitated a cessation of hostilities, and a retreat to French creek. This left Philadelphia open to the British, which army immediately moved to the Schuylkill river at Fatland ford, near Valley Forge. But this movement was only a feint, designed to throw Washington further away from Philadelphia. Washington was led to believe that the army intended to move up the great road through Trappe to Reading, where the supplies of the American army were then in store.

Washington, therefore, and his whole army of eight thousand Continentals and two thousand militia crossed the Schuylkill river at Parkerford into what is now Montgomery county, and marched down towards Providence, coming out on the road that was formerly the Tanyard, a short distance above Augustus Lutheran Church, at Trappe. His Excellency General Washington was with his troops who marched through Trappe to Perkiomen creek. The procession lasted the whole night. In Marshall's Life of Washington we are told that on the 19th of September, 1777, Washington and his army encamped on both sides of the Perkiomen creek, in Providence township, and that their camps extended from Trappe to the lower end of Evansburg. Washington took up his quarters in the house now occupied by D. Morgan Casselberry, in said village of Evansburg. The army remained here until the 21st, when Washington made no further effort to save Philadelphia. Upon this conclusion the advance guard started at midnight on the 21st towards Pottstown, and the following day, the 22d, the entire American army, with Washington, marched up the great road through Trappe and encamped near Pottsgrove.

On September 29th the army left camp at Pottsgrove at 9 o'clock a. m., came down the great road as far as Limerick, where they turned to the left, marched to what is now Schwenksville, and encamped at Pennebecker's mill. It was a cold, rough, windy day when about seven thousand soldiers went into camp at this place. At the same time General Armstrong, with some three or four thousand Pennsylvania militia continued on down the great road and encamped at

Sir

You are hereby authorized to impress all
the Blankets, Shoes, Stockings and other Articles
of Clothing that can be spared by the Soldiers
of the County of Lancaster for the use
of the Continental Army, paying for the same
at reasonable Rates or giving Certificates

Given at Camp at Penny Caden

Sept 27th day of Sept 1777
William Henry Log

Lancaster

G. Waples Lt

WASHINGTON'S LETTER.

Trappe, making their principal headquarters in the Lutheran Church, which is still standing and well preserved. The farmers in the vicinity of Schwenksville did not look with great favor upon their visitors—their barns had just been filled with crops, and the poorly supplied militia had learned how to forage with effect. Every farmer removed his horse to a place of safety. For some of the foregoing data I am indebted to the historical papers by F. G. Hobson, Esq., entitled "Providence During the Revolutionary War," published in 1883 in the *Providence Independent*.

Washington fixed his headquarters at the house of Samuel Pennebecker, and the tents of the soldiers were stretched along upon the high grounds on both sides of the Perkiomen. To corroborate this statement by Dr. Muhlenberg, I cite from Pennsylvania Archives, Volume 15, page 212, taken from the original diary of Lieut. James McMichael, of the Pennsylvania Line of the Revolution, which diary is in possession of Colonel William P. Michael, of Philadelphia, the following minute: "September 26, 1777. We left camp at Pottsgrove at 9 a. m. for Pennebecker's Mills, where we encamped."

Also from William S. Baker's Itinerary of Gen. Washington, page 93, the following: "Saturday, September 27. At Pennebecker's Mills. You are hereby authorized to impress all the blankets, shoes, stockings and other articles of clothing that can be spared by the inhabitants of the county of Lancaster, for the use of the Continental army, paying for the same at reasonable rates or giving certificates." Washington to William Henry, Lancaster.

"Washington reached Pennebecker's (formerly Pauling's) Mills, now Schwenksville, Montgomery county, Pennsylvania, on September 26th, making his headquarters at the house of Samuel Pennebecker, the owner of the mills. The house, a two-story stone building, is still standing." Martin Hunsberger, a former owner of the mill, several times told me that Samuel Pennebecker stated repeatedly that the headquarters were at his house.

It was four o'clock in the afternoon when the army ar-

rived, and before night every fence upon the place was carried away for camp fires. The hay and straw in the barns and on stacks disappeared, and every fowl perished save one old hen, which, as it chanced, was trying to hatch a late brood. But these depredations were stopped in pursuance of orders issued by General Washington, saying to the officers that they must prevent such infringement of discipline.

On the same day (Saturday), General Smallwood joined the army with a reinforcement of 1000 Maryland militia.

Sunday, the 28th, was the most eventful day at and around the mills. In the morning came the glad news that General Gates had defeated Burgoyne at the battle of Stillwater. It was decisive of the campaign in the North, and it is easy to conceive what hope it awakened in the hearts of the Commander-in-Chief and his patriotic followers, whom the late series of reverses might well have made despondent. It was at once announced to the army in the following order, found in Baker's Itinerary of General Washington, page 93:

Sunday, September 28. At Pennebecker's Mills, Orderly Book: "The Commander-in-Chief has the happiness again to congratulate the army on the success of the Americans to the northward. On the 19th inst. an engagement took place at Stillwater, New York, between General Burgoyne's army and the left wing of ours, under General Gates. The battle began at 10 o'clock and lasted till night, our troops fighting with the greatest bravery, not giving an inch of ground. To celebrate this success the general orders were issued that at 4 o'clock this afternoon all the troops be paraded and served with a gill of rum per man, and that at the same time there be discharges of 18 pieces of artillery from the park.

"GEO. WASHINGTON."

This order, headed Headquarters, Camp at Pennebecker's Mills, September 28, 1777, is also found in Saffell's Records, page 342:

Upon this occasion, which doubtless occurred in Samuel Pennebecker's house that Sabbath morning, there were present besides General Washington, Generals Greene, Sullivan, Stirling, Stephen and Armstrong; Brigadier Generals Wayne,

Muhlenberg, Knox, Conway, Nash, Smallwood, Scott, Potter, Irvine and McDougall.

At a council of war held this day the Continental force was thus outlined by Washington: McDougall, with about 900 men, had joined the army; Smallwood had also come in with about 1700 of Maryland militia; Forman with about 600 of the Jersey militia was on the Skippack road and near the main body. The number of Continental troops in camp fit for duty, exclusive of the detachment under McDougall, and that under Wayne at Trappe, was 5472, to which was to be added Maxwell's light corps (about 450), and the Pennsylvania militia under Armstrong. Altogether the army would consist of about 8000 Continental troops, rank and file, and 3000 militia. The Council decided against an immediate attack on the enemy, and that the army should move to a proper camp about twelve miles from there to await reinforcements and a more fitting opportunity to attack.

The momentous question to be decided was whether to risk immediately another battle in an effort to drive the enemy from Philadelphia, or to await the arrival of a reinforcement of 2500 men who were expected from Peekskill. The discussion which ensued showed diversity of view; Smallwood, Scott, Potter, Irvine and Wayne were in favor of making an immediate attack. But the others, including Nash, Stephen and Muhlenberg, approved the slower but surer course. Washington stated that the British were but 8000 strong, and it was finally decided to approach nearer, and watch for a favorable opportunity to strike a blow. In pursuance of this decision, on the following Monday morning Washington wrote to the President of Congress, telling him of the contemplated movement in the following proclamation found in the Itinerary of General Washington, on page 94:

"Monday, September 29. At Pennebecker's Mills: I shall move the army four or five miles lower down to-day, from whence we may reconnoitre and fix upon a proper situation, at such distance from the enemy as will enable us to make an attack should we see a proper opening, or stand upon the defensive till we obtain further reinforcements. This was the opinion of a majority of a Council of General Officers,

which I called yesterday.”—Washington to the President of Congress.

The same day Washington led his army from “Pennebecker’s Mills” down to Skippack, within twenty-five miles from Philadelphia. On Tuesday, the 30th, the main army advanced still farther on the Skippack road.

But in the vicinity, according to Dr. Muhlenberg’s journal, the militia were still stationed. The next morning, however, the scene was changed. Before sunrise everything was preparation for march and the coming battle. At 10 o’clock several regiments marched with flying colors from Trappe to Skippack to join the main army, while the greater portion remained until the morrow. On the morning of the 2d of October the remaining militia, between two and three thousand, under command of Major General Armstrong, marched down the great road towards Philadelphia.

On Wednesday, October 1st, Washington wrote to Governor Trumbull as follows: “At Skippack. I hope that a little time and perseverance will give us favorable opportunity of recovering our loss, and of putting our affairs in a more flourishing condition. Our army has now had the rest and refreshment it stood in need of, and our soldiers are in very good spirits.”

In Pickering’s Journal we find the following:

“October 2d. The army marched about five miles farther down on the Skippack road to Worcester township. It was from ‘Methacton Hill’ that the army started at seven o’clock in the evening of October 3d to attack the enemy at Germantown.”

All the authorities consulted agree that on the night of the 3d of October the American army, arranged in several divisions, marched silently towards Germantown. The roads were rough, and the different columns reached the British outposts at irregular intervals. The morning was foggy and the movements of both armies were unsteady and confused, as the battle opened on October 4, 1777.

The attack was unsuccessful, and that night as the army returned to its old camp, on the Perkiomen, the familiar rumble of the heavy wagons and the beating of drums

were again heard through the townships of Providence and Skippack, and mingled with them were the moans and cries of the wounded, who had been hurried over rough country roads away from the scene of conflict.

Says Pastor Muhlenberg, on the 5th, another Sunday: "From early in the morning until noon the troops who marched from here on the 2d inst. are returning in companies and singly with their wagons, tired, hungry and thirsty, and have taken possession of their old quarters to consume completely what was left previously."

On the same day Washington sent the following message to the President of Congress:

"Saturday, October 4. At the battle of Germantown. In the midst of the most promising appearances, when everything gave the most flattering hopes of victory, the troops began suddenly to retreat, and entirely left the field in spite of every effort that could be made to rally them."

In Pickering's Journal is contained this statement: "After the army were all retreating, I expected they would have returned to their last encampment, about twelve or thirteen miles from the enemy at Germantown; but the retreat was continued upwards of twenty miles; so that all those men, who retired so far, this day marched upwards of thirty miles without rest, besides being up all the preceding night without sleep."

Also the following:

"Sunday, October 5. At Pennebecker's Mills; this day the stragglers generally joined the army over Perkiomen creek. After remaining here a few days, the army removed to Towamensing township."

On October 7th, General Knox wrote the following to Artemus Ward, found in the Continental Journal of October 30th:

"At Pennebecker's mills. Camp near Perkiomen creek. October 6, 1777. Since the action, we have received considerable reinforcements from Virginia, and our excellent General Washington has collected his force at the place from whence I date this letter, and intends soon to try another bout with them. All our men are in good spirits, and I think grow fonder of fighting the more they have of it."

Beyond all question the main body of the army under

Washington returned to their old headquarters at Penny-packer's Mills, while the militia took up their old camps at Trappe. The encampment in Skippack was quite large and occupied territory on both sides of the Perkiomen. On the west side the camping ground occupied, among others, farms then owned by Henry Keely and Peter Pool. And there is authority for saying that upon the return of the army from the battle of Germantown, the second encampment, on the west side of the Perkiomen, was larger than the first.

This view is supported by the statement in Lieut. McMichael's diary, who had already stated under date of October 4: "We then marched up the Skippack road to Penne-becker's mills, where we betook ourselves to rest at 9 p. m., October 5." To-day changed our encampment to the west bank of the Perkiomen. The army remained here until October 8, when it marched to Towamensing township, stopping at the Mennonite meeting-house, near Kulpsville, where Brigadier General Nash, who died from wounds received at the battle of Germantown, was buried with military honors in the burial ground attached to said meeting-house on the 9th of October, at 10 o'clock. Orders were issued that all officers attend the funeral and pay respect to a brave man who died in defence of his country.

Washington's headquarters in this township were at the farm house of Frederick Wampole, about a mile above Kulpsville. The house was taken down in 1881.

The army continued its march through the townships of Worcester and Whitpain to Whitemarsh, where it camped for a short time. It afterwards crossed the Schuylkill river at Swedes' Ford on December 11th, proceeded to Gulf Mills, and thence marched to Valley Forge, arriving at that point on December 19th, and made preparations to remain there for the winter.

How many of the wounded came to this vicinity from the battle of Germantown and what attention they received, is impossible to ascertain with accuracy, but doubtless the people about the mills and beyond did all in their power to alleviate their sufferings.

It is known, however, that a large number of the wounded and dying were brought back with the troops; and that the churches at Evansburg and Trappe were converted into hospitals. Many died of their wounds and were buried in the grave-yards attached to those churches. The Episcopal cemetery at Evansburg contains the remains of over one hundred brave fellows, the victims of the battle of Germantown. Among the known ones was General Howard, of Maryland, and a brave soldier and a "dear friend of Washington. His tombstone contains the following epitaph: "He departed this life, March 15th, 1778, aged 30 years, in defense of American liberty." Washington afterward visited this spot and was heard to remark: "Here lies a brave and good soldier."

Washington, on a white charger, appeared at the south entrance of the old Trappe church, on the 5th of October, dismounted, and spoke a kind word to many of the sick and dying. On the 6th two soldiers died, and were buried by Muhlenberg towards the north boundary of the church-yard with their faces eastward. On October 7, a number of the officers were interred in this vicinity with the honors of war. Mary Grimley, who was about 14 years of age in 1777; Valentine Keeley, aged at that time about 18 years, and Henry Keeley, the father of Valentine, residents of Skippack township, west of Perkiomen creek, in their lifetime stated that to their knowledge at least two hundred soldiers, wounded at the battle of Germantown, were brought back to their former encampment at this place after the battle; some being dead upon arrival, while the others, still living, were taken to the homes of Henry Keeley and William Pennebecker, the majority of whom died soon afterward.

A large number were buried along the fence dividing lands of Henry Keeley and Peter Pool, now lands of John S. Keeley and Jesse Willauer, and also in the woods on lands of Peter Pool, now owned by the aforesaid Jesse Willauer.

Valentine Keeley, son of Henry Keeley, stated that he was present at the digging of a circular grave sixteen feet in diameter on premises of Henry Keeley, now owned by Frederick Fagley, and saw many of the soldiers buried therein dur-

ing the early part of October, 1777. That grave of the patriot dead was regarded as sacred ground by the Keeley family, and received their devoted care and veneration during their lifetime. That unmarked traditional tomb, as pointed out to me on the 10th inst., is now covered, at least partially, by an out-building belonging to the farm.

Interesting accounts of the location of army tents on both sides of the Perkiomen creek, but more particularly of those on the west side, and especially of the tent occupied by General Muhlenberg, who was well known to Mary Grimley, the bake house, slaughter house and well of water supply, were frequently given to those who were uninformed of the Revolutionary incidents in this vicinity.

The well referred to is on the premises now of John Keeley, and its locality, as pointed out to me by Mrs. Keeley, is near the dwelling house. Mrs. Keeley says that the well is very deep, was never filled up but was covered with flat stones; that near this well stood at that time a dwelling house, and that this and the surrounding properties were covered with tents. Tradition, therefore, seems to establish that the Revolutionary well of water and the circular grave are practically in existence now, and constitute two important and fitting points for Revolutionary war designation on the west side of the Perkiomen.

Up to 1883 or 1884 there was a grave on the premises at that time owned by Henry Keeley, now by Jesse Williams, that was occupied by the soldiers. Some of the trees, after standing and growing doubtless for a period of 107 years, contained charred bark, burned wood, incisions and openings for pegs on which kettles were hung for cooking purposes. Henry Keeley, Valentine Keeley and Mary Grimley were frequent visitors to the grove during the encampment here, and on many occasions told their subsequent neighbors of the cooking and eating methods of the soldiers. The peculiar, distinct and characteristic marks of those trees were witnessed and measured by my informant, Solomon K. Grimley, Esq. All this evidence has since 1884 been obliterated by the removal of the timber. For all this traditional information I am

indebted to said Solomon K. Grimley, Esq., who commenced his researches in 1842.

Samuel Pennebecker also gave interesting accounts of army occupancy and incidents on the east of the Perkiomen and of the tents pitched at and around the mills. He stated that several soldiers who died after the battle of Germantown were buried some distance from his dwelling house eastward. These statements are remembered by John Z. Hunsberger, a resident of this village. I have been unable in my investigations to learn of any enlistments in the Revolutionary War from this neighborhood except that of Abraham Schwenk, grandfather of Enos S. Schwenk, who resides near Grater's Ford, in this (Perkiomen) township. Mr. Schwenk says that tradition had Abraham Schwenk and possibly his father, George Schwenk, enrolled as soldiers in that war; that the former was interred in the Schwenksville cemetery, and the latter on the property of Samuel Faust.

Mr. Enos S. Schwenk thinks that some of the Revolutionary soldiers were buried in the cemetery connected with Keeley's Church. Others who claim knowledge of the disposition of the dead soldiers in this vicinity, deny that any of them were buried there.

This closes the narration and account of "Washington's Encampment at Pennebecker's Mills," the occupancy of the American army of the ground on both sides of Perkiomen creek in Skippack township and also in Providence township, and the movements of the army over said townships, so far as I have had time and opportunity for research. The owners of the mills and the Pennebecker residence may rest assured that they are in possession of properties that were made famous by "Washington's Encampment at Pennebecker's Mills." Their claim to historic value is good beyond all question.

Persons who doubt as to whether Washington and his army encamped at said mills, may dispute and contradict, but the journals of Dr. Muhlenberg, the diary of Lieut. McMichael, the testimony in Baker's Itinerary of Washington, in Pennsylvania Archives edited by that distinguished historian

William H. Egle, and in many other reliable historical authorities, establish beyond doubt the fact, as I have endeavored to show it, that Washington and his army did "encamp at Pennebecker's Mills" in 1777.

This community should, and from the interest manifested upon this occasion, it does appreciate the benefits, and delights to recall the recollections that flow from these historic surroundings. They connect us and our posterity with the efforts here put forth by the patriots of the Revolution in the founding of this Republic and the establishment of American liberty.

[Read by Henry W. Kratz before the Historical Society, at Schwenksville, September 16, 1896.]

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... century a congregation of the Reformed Church
... created here, perhaps where the St. Peter's Lutheran Church
... of Garren Hill, now stands. On this spot, or near the same,
... religious services were held more or less regularly. Long
... ago the congregation was disbanded. There were many Re-
... formed Church members in the region then, where there are
... none now.

Members of the German Reformed Church, as it was
then called, began to emigrate to Pennsylvania soon after the
province was confirmed to William Penn under the Great
Seal, which important event took place on the 4th of March,
1681. The news of great privileges opened up in this wild
province of the New World was soon heard as good tidings
along the Rhine and in the quiet valleys of Switzerland. As
early as 1684-85, a society, consisting of ten prominent gentle-
men, residing at Frankfort, was formed, called the Frankfort
Land Company. The object was to send out settlers. They
purchased large tracts of land, and settlers and settlements
soon followed.

In the report made by the Synod of South Holland, at
Breda, in July, 1730, it says that "there are in the Province of
Pennsylvania about 15,000 Germans. The Reformed holding
to the old Reformed confession constitute more than one-half
of the whole number."

Many of these emigrants were truly pious, and though
not able to bring their ministers, brought with them their cal-

THE LOST CHURCH AT WHITEMARSH.

BY HON. JONES DETWILER.

Its very existence is forgotten by many members of the Reformed Church to-day. The story seems strange now, but in the last century a congregation of the Reformed Church existed here, perhaps where the St. Peter's Lutheran Church, of Barren Hill, now stands. On this spot, or near the same, religious services were held more or less regularly. Long ago the congregation was disbanded. There were many Reformed Church members in the region then, where there are none now.

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Many of these emigrants were truly pious, and though not able to bring their ministers, brought with them their cat-

echisms, hymn books and other devotional books, and in some cases also pious schoolmasters.

The first knowledge we have of a congregation is from the records made by the Rev. Paulus Van Vlecq, pastor of the church at Samminie (Neshaminy), Bensalem and Jarmantown (Germantown).

On June 4, 1710, Paulus Van Vlecq visited this place and organized a congregation. On December 25th of the same year he ordained Evert Ten Heaven (DeHaven)*, Isaac Dilbeck, Jr.†, for elders; William Dewees‡ and Jan Awecg, deacons.

In 1711 the congregation was composed of the following persons: Hans Hendrick Meels, Isaac Dilbeck, Jan Awecg, Antonie Geert Yerkes, Geertruy Reinbergh, Marritye Blomerse huysvrow, van Isaac Dilbeck, Catrina Weels huysvrow, van William DeWees, Elizabeth Schipbrower huysvrow, van Evert Ten Haven, Anuchen Barents huysvrow, van J. Pieterse, Maria Salle huysvrow, van Garrett Ten Heaven, William DeWees, Johanis Jodden, Johanis Revenstock, Geertrung Awecg, Elsyl Schol, Sibillae Ravenstock, huysvrow, van Hendrick Tibbin, Margaret Bon huysvrow, van Kaspere Staels.

How long Mr. Van Vlecq labored here we do not know. About this time he visited the place where the old Norriton Presbyterian Church now stands, about eight miles from here, and preached to the people of that place; also organized a congregation, known as the Skippack Reformed Church, and baptized their children.

When the Rev. George Michael Weiss arrived in this country, September 21st, 1727, he found John Philip Bœhm preaching and laboring here without license and ordination, to which he seriously objected. So well satisfied were the people with Mr. Bœhm's ministrations that they petitioned the

*Edward De Haven lived in Whitpain, and owned 200 acres of land. Part of the village of Blue Bell is built upon a portion of it.

†The name of Dilbeck is frequently found appended to road reports and as witnesses to old deeds.

‡William De Wees is mentioned as living in Cresheim, and owned 150 acres of land.

Classis of Amsterdam at New York in regard to the matter. The petition is dated July, 1728, and sets forth the following:

"We the undersigned elders and deacons of the Reformed Christian congregations at Falkner Schwamp, Schip Bach and Whit Marche, find ourselves, in the name of our congregations, constrained and obliged in the last degree to have recourse to your reverend body, to lay before you the hardships and perplexity of ourselves and our congregations, and to entreat you to afford us your Christian aid in the way of relief for our peace and the upbuilding of the Reformed religion in this far off province of the world.

"At least as early as the year 1720, there came over to us John Philip Bœhm, who, according to his testimonials, had faithfully exercised the office of schoolmaster and fore-singer in Worms, a city of Germany, for about seven years in succession, and was compelled by the persecutions of the Papists to flee the country. Soon after his arrival, some of the neighbors established a religious meeting, and John Philip Bœhm was appointed as reader. He maintained the ministry of the Word to the best of his ability, and to the great satisfaction of the people for five years, without receiving any compensation.

"Our three still small and poor congregations of Falkner's Schwamp, Schip Bach and Whit Marche, of which the greatest is composed of only twenty-four males, the second of about twenty, and the least of not more than fourteen, are spread out for more than sixty English miles from each other, and full one hundred and seventy distant from New York.

"The most of those among us being ignorant and needy, and daily subject to solicitations from others, it was absolutely impossible for us to provide a minister with a fixed salary, and this the more because at the time when Mr. Bœhm undertook the service we were entirely without the means."

Along with this petition was sent a copy of fourteen articles adopted and signed by the elders of the three congregations for their ecclesiastical and civil government, which was sign signed by the elders of the three congregations. The petition was conveyed to Classis by Mr. Bœhm and William DeWees, of the Whitemarsh congregation.

*Falkner's Swamp, thirty miles from Philadelphia; Skippack, twenty-two miles from Philadelphia; Whitemarsh, twelve miles from Philadelphia; from New York, one hundred and twenty miles.

The Classis declared the acts performed by Mr. Bœhm to be just and valid, and he was ordained to the Christian ministry, and the Rev. Weiss was satisfied†.

The following was published in the *Reformed Church Messenger*, June 12, 1872:

Extracts from the church register of the German Reformed congregations at Falkner Swamp, Skippack and Whitemarsh, in Pennsylvania, given this 10th day of January, 1736, by me,

JOHARMAN PHILIP BŒHM,
Pastor of said congregations.

Year 1726, February 2, Henry Antes and Christianna (born De Weesin) after their public notices given, were married at Whitemarsh, and by God's blessing have had and offered by holy baptism the following children:

I. 21st (month illegible), 1726, Anna Catharine. The sponsors were Frederick Antes and Anna Catharine, his wife, uncle and aunt to the child. Said Anna Catharine was born the 8th (month illegible), 1726.

II. 6th (month illegible), 1728, Anna Margareta, sponsors, Hans Wolf Miller, Anna Margareta, his wife, born the 9th (month illegible), 1728.

III. July 30, Philip Frederick, sponsors, Frederick Antes and Anna, his wife, uncle and aunt of the said Philip Frederick; born July 2, 1730.

IV. 21st (month illegible), 1731. William, sponsors, William DeWees and Christianna, his wife, uncle and aunt. William was born 18th (month illegible), 1731.

V. 10th of February, 1734. Elizabeth, sponsors, John Esbach and Elizabeth, his wife (Walter's sister). Said Elizabeth was born January 29, 1734.

In the pamphlet called "Letters of Warning," issued by Bœhm in 1742, which was approved by the elders of the different congregations over their signatures, it sets forth that William DeWees and Christopher Ottinger were elders; Michael Clime and Philip Scherer were deacons.

†Mr. Boehm was ordained to the office of the holy ministry on November 23, 1729, in the city of New York, by a committee appointed by the Classis of Amsterdam, consisting of Revs. "Henricus Boel" and Gualterius Du Bois. On the 24th following the Rev. Weiss expressed himself satisfied, and the terms were written out in full and signed by them and the three commissioners, Friebrieh Antes, of Falkner's Schwamp, Gabriel Scheiler, of Schipbach; William De Wees, of Weit Marsch.

The congregation was served by Mr. Bœhm until his death at the house of his oldest son, Anthony William Bœhm, in Hellertown, now Lehigh county, Pa., on the 29th of April, 1749.

After the death of Rev. Bœhm the congregation was supplied with preaching by the Rev. Michael Schlatter, the first missionary sent to this country by the Synod of Holland, who arrived at Boston, August 1, 1746.

Harbaugh, in his life of Schlatter, 1755 to 1777, says that "Mr. Schlatter, however, did not lay aside his duty and privilege of preaching the glorious gospel of the blessed God." He is said to have preached frequently at Barren Hill.

"On Easter Monday, April 12, 1762, Mr. Muhlenberg went to Barren Hill. Rev. Pastor Schlatter also came, and had an appointment, after my sermon, to administer the holy supper to some Reformed members. After my sermon, Mr. Schlatter yet added a short exhortation, still further impressing upon their hearts what they had heard. After this he went with his church members into the union school-house, where he had administered the holy supper."

"It was customary in those days for the female worshippers at Barren Hill to wear short gowns and neat aprons. On occasions when Mr. Schlatter preached there, as he proceeded up the aisle toward the pulpit—which he always did in a very hurried manner—he would suddenly stop, and without saying a word would seize one of the clean aprons to wipe the dust from his glasses, which he usually carried in his hands when not in use."

It is sad to relate that most of the early records of Bœhm any many of those of Schlatter were burned. Those of the former were kept in a large iron bound chest, and found their way into a garret of an old house located at the corner of Second and Quarry streets, Philadelphia, and were destroyed at the time the building was burned. Those of the latter were taken from the owner's house on Chestnut Hill during the time the British held Philadelphia, and were destroyed.

Peter Streeper, who died May 2, 1878, aged 84 years, who was born, reared and lived near this place all of his lifetime,

told me that he remembered well when the pastor of the Market Square German Reformed Church, of Germantown, would come at stated times and preach for the Reformed congregation at Barren Hill, and after service (in the afternoon) would come to his father's house (being a member) and stay over night.

My subject has been the lost church. Although organized before the date of the present Lutheran Church, and fostered for more than a century, there are no statistics at hand to tell the strength of this congregation. There were no statistical tables published in the minutes of Synod until 1816, and these are very imperfect.

Yet another church has grown and flourished in its stead, and we trust that the true gospel has been preached during that time, "lengthening its cords and strengthening its stakes," and became a power, strength and a blessing to the community at large.

Concerning the Schlatter family that lie interred at Barren Hill Cemetery: Mr. Schlatter had four sons and five daughters. His wife, Maria Henrica, one son and three daughters, sleep in that grave yard. Harbaugh, in his "Annals of Rev. Michael Schlatter," says, "she (the wife) lies buried at Barren Hill Church; but—my pen falters!—without a stone to mark her grave." The rest have stones containing their births and ages.

Elizabeth, the oldest daughter, died April 18, 1840, aged 91 years, 5 months and 3 days. She was never married.

Gerhard Richard, born July 7, 1753. The sponsors in his baptism were Hon. Richard Peters, Secretary of Pennsylvania, and Rev. Gerhard Kulenkamp, minister in Amsterdam. He was named after their two distinguished men, who were intimate friends of Mr. Schlatter. This son entered the army of the colonists in the War of the Revolution. He was Adjutant in what was called the "Flying Camp," and was in the battles of Germantown, Princeton and Brandywine. At the battle of Germantown he had two horses shot from under him in one day. He died at Princeton, December 7th, 1787, aged 34 years and 5 months.

Hester was born in 1762, and died November 3, 1811, aged 40 years. She was never married.

Rachel was born June 4, 1764. She was a very masculine and courageous woman. When her father was in prison, in Philadelphia, his house at Chestnut Hill was ransacked by the British. A soldier with his sword knocked the portrait of her father, which was hanging against the wall, to the floor. She being in her fourteenth year, instantly seized the picture and bore it away. Frequently she would ride on horseback to the city with provisions for her father during his imprisonment. When the army lay in the neighborhood of Chestnut Hill, she used to plait the hair of the American officers, for which they paid her pocket money each time. She died March 8th, 1836, aged 71 years, 9 months and 4 days.

The daughters, Hester, Elizabeth and Rachel, resided together in their homestead at Sweetland*, on Chestnut Hill at the time of their death. They were all communicant members of the German Reformed Church at Germantown. The last two died while Rev. Albert Helffenstein, Jr., was pastor of that church, and he preached funeral sermons on the occasion of their burial.

[Read before the Historical Society, at Barren Hill, September 18, 1895.]

*The old stone house stood at or near the spot where Chestnut avenue intersects the Germantown and Perkiomen township.

WHITEMARSH REFORMED CONGREGATION IN THE HOLLAND ARCHIVES.

BY HENRY S. DOTTERER.

The Hollanders and Germans who came to Pennsylvania in the earliest years of the province were in large part members of the Reformed Church.

The name Reformed, as applied to a widespread religious organization, dates from the uprising against the Church of Rome in the 16th century, known in history as the Reformation, but which in reality was a secession. The Protestants, or seceders, in Germany divided into a number of denominations; a large body was known as the Reformed, another as the Lutherans, and smaller sects assumed other names. In Holland, Switzerland and France the name Reformed was adopted and is still retained. In Holland 100,000 lives were offered up for the Reformed faith during the Spanish inquisition. In France 50,000 members of the Reformed Church—Huguenots—were martyred on St. Bartholomew night in 1572. and 500,000 were exiled by the revocation of the edict of Nantes. In a word, the Reformed Church, concerning which there is uncertainty in many minds, has its origin in the Reformation of more than 300 years ago.

The Pennsylvania Reformed Church was in the beginning composed of descendants of these revolters against mighty Rome. Courageous colonists of this faith pushed inland, spied out the rich Wissahickon valley, broadening out to the northward into the Whitemarsh country, and settled upon the fertile land along the streams. They formed a religious society as early as 1710. On the 4th of June, of that year, Domine

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The Pennsylvania Reformed Church was in the beginning composed of descendants of these revolutionaries against mighty Rome. Courageous colonists of this faith pushed inland, spread out the rich Wissahickon valley, broadening out to the northward into the Whitemarsh country, and settled upon the fertile land along the streams. They formed a religious society as early as 1710. On the 4th of June, of that year, Dominus

Paulus Van Vlecq came over from Neshaminy, in Bucks county, and organized the Whitemarsh Reformed Church and a council. The record is in the Dutch language in these words: "De kerk op Wytmess is gestatuert den 4 Junii Anno 1710." Hans Hendrick Meels was ordained senior elder, and Evert Ten Heuven junior elder. A week before this, on the 28th of May, Van Vlecq was here and baptized six children—four of Jacob Dilbeck and wife, and two of Sebes Bartels and wife. On the 25th of December, 1710, these officers were installed: Evert Ten Heuven, senior elder; Isaac Dilbeck, junior elder; William Dewees, senior deacon; Jan Aweeg, junior deacon. In 1711 the membership of the congregation numbered 15 persons. With the year 1711 this part of the history of the congregation ends. The records being in the language of Holland, the preaching and other services were without doubt conducted in the same tongue.

But the congregation was evidently not abandoned. In an ancient paper preserved in the archives of the Reformed Synod of the Netherlands is this statement, referring to the period after 1711 and prior to 1720: "Before the Reformed people in Pennsylvania had begun to have religious services they associated themselves in Falkner Swamp, Skippack and Whitemarsh, and when they communed it was with the Presbyterians." But as, to some of them, Presbyterianism did not seem to agree with the Reformed faith, they desired John Philip Bœhm to become their minister. Bœhm, before he came to Pennsylvania, was a schoolmaster. In 1717 he held this position in the village of Lambsheim, near Frankenthal. Before that he had been a teacher of the parish school, leader of the singing and sacristan of the Reformed Church at Worms, in the Palatinate. Upon his coming, about 1720, among the Reformed people in Pennsylvania he was invited to lead in their religious gatherings and to read to them printed sermons. He consented to this. In the year 1725 they urged him to become the pastor of the three congregations named. But as he was not ordained to the ministry he hesitated to undertake the responsibility of assuming the office. A committee of two delegated by the congregations renewed their per-

suasions. He yielded. A system of church government was drawn up, published in the three congregations and accepted by them; and a formal call was made to Böhm and accepted by him.

Under this arrangement the first communion was held at Whitemarsh on the 23d of December, 1725, in which 24 persons participated. This was the beginning of Böhm's ministry at Whitemarsh. In a report, written in the Dutch language, sent to Holland, he says: "Dit was het eerst begin." The church was styled in Böhm's records the High German Reformed congregation. From this we may safely infer that the services were then conducted in German. Böhm, however, in his correspondence with Holland, used the Dutch language as frequently as the German.

Matters went on smoothly until the year 1727, when objection was made to Böhm because of his lack of ordination. Steps were at once taken to remedy this important defect. Application was made to the Low Dutch Reformed ministers at New York for ordination. In May, 1728, William Dewees accompanied Mr. Böhm to New York on his mission. But on account of the gravity of the matter it was referred by the New York authorities to the higher ecclesiastical officials in Holland for disposition. A lengthy statement of the case, signed by the consistories of the three congregations, was forwarded to the classis of Amsterdam in July, 1728. The signers who represented the Whitemarsh congregation were: William Dewees, Isaac Dilbeck, Ludwig Knauss and Johannes Revenstock. The Amsterdam classis directed that Böhm should be ordained, and this was done by the Dutch ministers in New York on Sunday afternoon, November 23, 1729. A commissioner from each of the three Pennsylvania congregations was present at the performance of this formality, William Dewees representing Whitemarsh.

Pastor Böhm kept a church book, in which he recorded the work done in the congregations in his care. From this he made reports to the Holland authorities, which are still preserved there. They indicate that the condition of Whitemarsh Church was variable. April 21, 1734, 24 persons com-

muned: October 6, 1734, 22; April 16, 1737, 15; September 3, 1738, 29; April 13, 1740, 49; March 13, 1743, 51—24 men and 27 women; at the Fall communion of 1743, held October 23, 23 men and 24 women took part, and one man was added to the membership by confirmation; February 16, 1744, 29 communed.

In October, 1734, Pastor Böhm, upon request from them, pointed out to the synods of South and North Holland how four additional Reformed ministers could be usefully placed in Pennsylvania. Among his suggestions was this: One minister to take charge of the Philadelphia and Germantown congregations, and in connection with the latter the Whitemarsh congregation could be served, as it was but four English miles away. He says of Whitemarsh, it is very weak—"ook seer zwak." This report, which covered all the Pennsylvania Reformed churches, numbering about a dozen, was lengthy, and was endorsed by the consistories of the three congregations under his immediate care. The Whitemarsh consistory signed thus:

Gedaan in ons	{	Wilhelm Diewees, Ouderling
Presbyterio tot		Christofel Ottinger, Ouderling
Weitmarge den		Ludwig Knaus, Diak
28 Obris 1734		Joh. Michael Gleim, Diak

P. H. Dorsius, the Dutch minister in Bucks county, and who was appointed by the Hollanders inspector of the Pennsylvania congregations, was requested by his principals to thoroughly inform himself as to the means necessary for the sustentation and advancement of the church in Pennsylvania, and then to present his views. The Hollanders were eager and able to supply the men and money necessary for the up-building of the Church and the spread of the Gospel. Böhm supplied Dorsius with information in detail, covering the entire German field, in the year 1739. In that year the officers at Whitemarsh were: William Dewees and Christopher Ottinger, elders; Ludwig Knauss and Philip Scherer, deacons. Dorsius was indifferent and neglectful, and it is doubtful if he ever sent Böhm's report to Holland. Several years afterward a copy was forwarded by Böhm himself.

The Church in Holland also desired to know from the several Reformed congregations here the sum each would undertake to contribute toward the support of a pastor. This request came through Dorsius also. Each congregation was canvassed, and a reply, over the signature of the church officers, was made, for transmission to Holland.

Elders William Dewees and Christopher Ottinger and Deacon Philip Scherer reported on the 16th of March, 1740, as follows:

"The congregation of Whitemarsh comprises very few families, and is for this reason willing to unite with the congregation at Germantown; and should the latter be provided with a regular preacher by the pious church fathers, this congregation is willing to add its share to what they contribute, which we, as elders of long standing service, hereby subscribe to."

In the original German this was stated in these words:

"Die Gemeinde auff Weitmarge befindet sich in sehr wenig Fammilien, ist also willig zu der Gemeinde zu Germandon zu gehören, und solte dieselbe von denen Gottseelig Kirchen Vætttern mit einem ordentlichen Prediger versehen werden so ist die Gemeinde willig zu demselben, was sie beytragen wird, ihren theil zu zulegen, welches wir als die in diensten lang gestandene Eltesten hiermit unterschreiben.

Willem de Wees, Eltester.

Christoffel Ottinger, Eltester.

Philip Scherrer, Diac.

"Weitmarge, d 16 Mertz, 1740."

The Germantown congregation was not much better off, if we take the report made in the same connection by Jacob Laumann and Johann Nicklaus Rausch, two of its members, which was in these terms: "Owing to disturbances in the congregation, caused by sectarian persons of all kinds, the Germantown church is in a pitiable condition—in einem sehr erbärmlichen Zustand. However, if the Germantown and Whitemarsh congregations can be united, Ten Pounds, Pennsylvania money, can be collected annually for a pastor's salary." This statement is dated at Germantown, March 18, 1740.

In the year 1742 all the Reformed congregations in Pennsylvania were more or less disturbed by a movement, headed

by Count Zinzendorf, to bring about unity among the various religious denominations—especially the German. A number of prominent men in the Reformed Church favored this scheme. But no one, so far as known, of the Whitemarsh congregation took part in it. Pastor Bœhm opposed Zinzendorf vigorously, and issued a pamphlet, under date of August 23, 1742, warning the Reformed membership against identifying themselves with the union. Before issuing the publication Bœhm obtained the approval of the consistories of the churches. The officers of Whitemarsh congregation who endorsed their pastor in this connection were: William Dewees, elder; Christopher Ottinger, elder; Michael Cleim, deacon, and Philips Scherer, deacon.

It is a matter of much interest to know where, in the early times, the church people found suitable places to hold their religious meetings. In a communication by Pastor Bœhm to the Holland church authorities under date of April 20, 1744, which speaks of the houses of worship and school houses in the several Pennsylvania congregations, he says, regarding Whitemarsh:

"By de Gemeente te Wytmarsche hebben wy nog niemendal: maar aldie lange tyd door hebben wy onsen Godsdienst altyd den huysen van den Ouderling Willem de Weese vaargenoomen zonder dat syn E. daar oits iets heeft tegen gehad, of het geringste daarvoor gepretendeert. Die eerlyke man voed een standvastige en vroome Hoope God zal nog wei middelen verschaffen."

Translation: In the congregation at Whitemarsh we have as yet nothing at all (in the way of church edifice); but during all this long time we have made use of the house of Elder William Dewees for holding divine service, without any unwillingness from his honor, or the least expectation of payment. The worthy man cherishes a constant and pious hope that God will yet provide the means (to build a church).

During the succeeding two years and a half Pastor Bœhm became convinced that an adjustment in the arrangement of the congregations in this vicinity could be made with advantage. He gave his views to the classis of Amsterdam in a letter written from his home in Whitpain township on the 23d of November, 1746, in these words:

"As to Skippack congregation, there is no hope of its continuance. Those of its few members who live in the upper part of the parish can go to Old Goshenhoppen, where Domine Weiss is the minister. Whitpain township, where I live," he continues, "lies almost midway between Germantown and the above-named Old Goshenhoppen, which are about 23 or 24 miles apart, Whitmarsh and Skippack being in the direct line. In this township (Whitpain) it is thought a regular congregation may be established, to which the members of upper Whitmarsh and those in the lower part of Skippack and the country around can attach themselves, which congregation I can serve from my home, and when I shall be incapable of traveling."

The Whitmarsh congregation during this period was growing weaker. Its few members had become disheartened. Death had taken away its mainstay. A crisis in its affairs was at hand. Pastor Boehm states the case in his letter, which was written in German, thus:

"Die Geimende Weitmarge, welche alle Zeit in wenig Glieder bestandten, ist durch des absterben des alten getreue Eltesten Willem Dee Weesen (weil sein Hauss allerzeit unser Kirche war, und nach seinem Todt nicht mehr sein konte, auch kein Gelegenheit sonsten vorhanden war, viel weniger Mittel umb eine Kirche erbauen, da gewesen.) in Stillstandt gerathen. und hat sich diesse Gemeinde nach dem unteren theil nach Germandon gezogen, welches der Gemeinde zu Germandon eben so wohl als der zu alt Goschen Hoppen zu ihrer verstarkung etwas mag dienen."

Translation: The Whitmarsh congregation, which at all times consisted of but few members, has, through the death of the aged, faithful elder, William DeWees, come to a standstill (because his house was at all times our church, but since his death it can be so no longer, nor is there opportunity at hand to worship elsewhere, much less the means to build a church). The lower portion of the membership has gone to Germantown, which will serve to strengthen that congregation somewhat, in like manner that Old Goshenhoppen will be benefited (by the accretion of members from upper Skippack).

Thus passed away the Whitmarsh Reformed Church and congregation. In the church annals its name is no longer found. The following year, 1747, a synod of the Reformed churches in Pennsylvania was formed at Philadelphia, and

ministers and lay delegates attended from all the congregations. Minister Bœhm was there, but not as the pastor of Whitemarsh congregation; he was now the pastor of Falkner Swamp, Providence and Whitpain congregations. Elder Michael Kleim was there, but as a delegate from Whitpain. Elder William Dewees, who had served as office-bearer in Whitemarsh congregation for 34 years, was not there; he had died two and a half years before.

What became of Whitemarsh Reformed Church? You have the answer, as found in the Holland archives.

Strange it is that 4000 miles away we should find the facts pertaining to the church life and the home life of our Pennsylvania ancestors of five and six generations ago! It had been vaguely rumored in historical circles that the correspondence between the early Pennsylvania Reformed churches and Holland was in existence. It was my exceeding good fortune, in December, 1895, to prove the correctness of the rumor and to locate this rich mine of information; and for the better part of the two succeeding months it was my great satisfaction to read, examine and study these treasures, under permission freely granted by the Rev. Dr. M. A. Perk, the president, and Dr. L. Overman, secretary, of the general synod of the Reformed Church of the Netherlands. There, securely cared for, are reports, autograph letters, appeals, complaints, accounts—such as were called forth by the struggles of the infant church in our new land—from Philadelphia, Germantown, Whitemarsh, Skippack, Whitpain, Falkner Swamp, Goshenhoppen, Providence, Oley, Tulpehocken and remoter points. In the vast accumulation of manuscripts and books at Rotterdam, Hague and Amsterdam, by the general and the provincial synods, is recorded the story—awaiting the hand of a Motley or a Macaulay—of the work done by the national church of Holland in the spread of the Gospel of Christ in many lands and climes. Holland is a noble country. Its people have made countless sacrifices for the welfare of humanity and the advancement of Christianity.

Another question often asked is, Where was the Whitemarsh Church located? The church records in Holland give

us a clue, if not a direct answer. The house of William Dewees was at all times our church—"sein Hauss war allerzeit unser Kirche"—writes Pastor Böhm to the fathers and benefactors in Holland. Where was this house? Where did William Dewees live? If we can fix the spot, then shall we have rediscovered the site of the long-lost church.

William Dewees arrived at New York about the year 1690. We have William Barton as our authority for this. He was then but 13 years of age. He came probably from the town of Arnheim, in Gelderland, one of the provinces of the Netherlands*. He was a paper maker. One of the principal industries of Arnheim was paper making. Wilhelmina Dewees, sister of William Dewees, and Nicholas Rittenhouse were married at New York about 1690. This Nicholas Rittenhouse was a son of William Rittenhouse, accepted as founder of paper making in America. The Rittenhouses were from Arnheim. Soon after the date mentioned all these persons removed to the neighborhood of Germantown. In 1710 William Dewees erected the second paper mill in America, on the west side of Wissahickon creek, in that part of Germantown known in early times as Crefeld. The late Horatio Gates Jones, a careful local historian, personally known to many in this audience, makes this statement in a posthumous paper published last year in the magazine of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It is confirmed by the county records in Philadelphia. William Dewees and Cornelius Dewees—brothers, we take it—on June 12, 1708, bought 290 acres of land in Bebbert's (afterwards Skippack) township, which they sold during the succeeding five years. William Dewees did not live upon this property; Cornelius Dewees did. William Dewees, paper maker, owned and sold lands, mills and houses in Crefeld prior to 1725. It is not the purpose to follow out the details of these transactions at this time. Where he lived from 1725 to 1730 is not definitely known.

A purchase made by William Dewees on the 26th day of March, 1730, has distinct interest for us in the consideration of our subject. It was part of the property owned by Heivert

*It has been found that the Deweeses came from Leenwarden, Friesland.

Papen, deceased, and was now sold by his heirs. It contained 93 acres, 3 rods and 22 perches, and was located in Crefeld, Germantown, and faced Springfield Manor, now Springfield township, at the crossing of the Germantown and Perkiomen turnpike over Wissahickon creek. Had we, on the 26th of March, 1730, taken as a starting place the point of that angle of Germantown, enfolded on its northwest and northeast sides by the present Springfield township, and walked southwest a distance of 572 paces or yards, the land of Edward Farmar, afterwards the Manor of Springfield, on our right and the German township on our left, we should have come to a white walnut tree, marked for a corner; continuing in the same direction 558 yards, we should have seen a heap of stones, another corner. This last distance was the width of the tract conveyed to William Dewees. The depth, at right angles with the width, was 148 perches, or 814 yards. The Wissahickon enters, but soon leaves the north corner of the tract; it enters again near the middle of the northeast boundary line, and winds in a peculiarly eccentric course through the remaining width of the property. A house, a grist mill with two pair of stones and a paper mill were among the improvements. In 1730 no mention of a road is made, but in a description 20 years later the Plymouth road, later the Germantown and Perkiomen turnpike, ran through the entire length of the property, in irregular course, easterly and westerly. A part of the western slope of Chestnut Hill was comprised in the premises. This was the home of William Dewees from 1730 until his death, which occurred on the 3d of March, 1745. Not long before his decease he built a new house. In his will, dated the 22d of November, 1744, he directed as follows: "My wife, Anna Christina, shall have the privilege of any Room of my new dwelling House, to live in so long as the said dwelling House shall remain unsold after my decease."

Were the poet and the painter to combine their gifts for the creation of a scene of beauty, they could scarce rival the charming landscape spread here by the prodigal hand of nature. Rarely in natural scenery is so great a diversity of feature found in exquisite combination. The swift-flowing

Wissahickon, in capricious mood, winds through the green meadow, until it is curbed by a mill-dam, which compels a portion of its waters to turn a mill-wheel. On its west bank rises a gentle knoll; on its east side rises rather abruptly Chestnut Hill. The stream, at the point where it emerges from this property, encounters a series of hills, which divert it from the direct course to the Schuylkill. It makes a sharp turn, elbow shape, and finds an outlet between rugged hills, through a narrow ravine, now traversed by the famous Wissahickon drive, forming the most picturesque scenery of Fairmount Park.

Let us view the former home of William Dewees as it is to-day. On the east side of the Germantown and Perkiomen turnpike, where aforetime stood the mill and on the knoll above, is the group of buildings of the Mt. St. Joseph's young ladies' academy and the convent. A modern bridge carries the road across the stream; the dam is still there, furnishing power for the wants of the convent. On the western side, at the intersection of the turnpike and the creek, stands a building having the air of a residence of the colonial era. It is a roomy house, two stories high, faces southward, built of stone, pebble-dashed, the walls fully 15 inches in thickness. Entering its one front door you are in a broad hall, flanked on each side by the principal rooms, each lighted by two windows looking south and one window at the east and west ends respectively. The rooms measure about 20 feet by 18, and the ceiling is eight feet above the floor. Several smaller rooms are on the first floor. The second floor, which is reached by a stairway from the hall, is divided into numerous apartments, evidently arranged to meet the wants of a large family and frequent visitors. Giant buttonwoods and elms shade this old-time mansion. At its feet flows the Wissahickon, its main stream rejoined here by the waters diverted above to perform the drudgeful service of turning the wheel. A pretty spot to-day; but the imagination alone can portray its idyllic loveliness when William Dewees dispensed a generous hospitality here, and the colonists gathered to listen to the Word from

the lips of John Philip Boehm, and to join in praise and prayer to the Most High.

Was this ancient mansion "the new house" of 1744? The untiring antiquaries of the neighborhood will have to determine this point. We shall say, provisionally, it was.

On this spot, and part of the time in this house, worshiped the little flock known as the High German Reformed congregation of Whitemarsh. William Dewees owned this property from 1730 to the day of his death, in 1745. After 1736 he owned no other. "His house was at all times our church" wrote John Philip Boehm. Here they gathered until the death of its great-hearted owner—the enterprising colonist and steadfast churchman. After that they could no longer meet under its roof, nor had they elsewhere to go. Their numbers, diminished by the death of the Dutch and German immigrants and by the withdrawal of their children to the English-preaching churches, had dwindled to a mere handful. They now dispersed, as Pastor Boehm informed the Holland synods. Some went to Whitpain and became members of the church now known all the country round as Boehm's Reformed Church, the others joined the Germantown Reformed Church, which stood on the market place and is now the Market Square Presbyterian Church.

[Read before the Historical Society, at Fort Washington, September 23, 1897.]

er, 1892, under the heading "Tuesday, October 21st, 1777," the following entry, taken from Pickering's journal, appears: "At Whitpain, October 21st. The army moved lower down to Whitpain township, within fifteen miles of Philadelphia. Headquarters at Mr. Morris's."

These two quotations prove without doubt that this was the time that the army was encamped in Whitpain township, having moved there from the camp in Towamencin. Some 10,000 men are said to have been encamped in the vicinity of General's headquarters, which was, as above stated, at James Morris's.

The house is still standing and in good preservation, although somewhat altered by succeeding generations. It is now in possession of Mrs. Saunders Lewis, the granddaughter.

WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS AT JAMES MORRIS' HOUSE, IN WHITPAIN.

BY DR. MORRIS J. LEWIS.

After the battle of Germantown, which was fought on the 4th of October, 1777, the American army retired as far north as Trappe, some fifteen miles north of Whitmarsh, and subsequently moved to Skippackville, Towamencin, Whitpain and Whitmarsh, from which last place, in December, the army moved across the Schuylkill to winter quarters at Valley Forge.

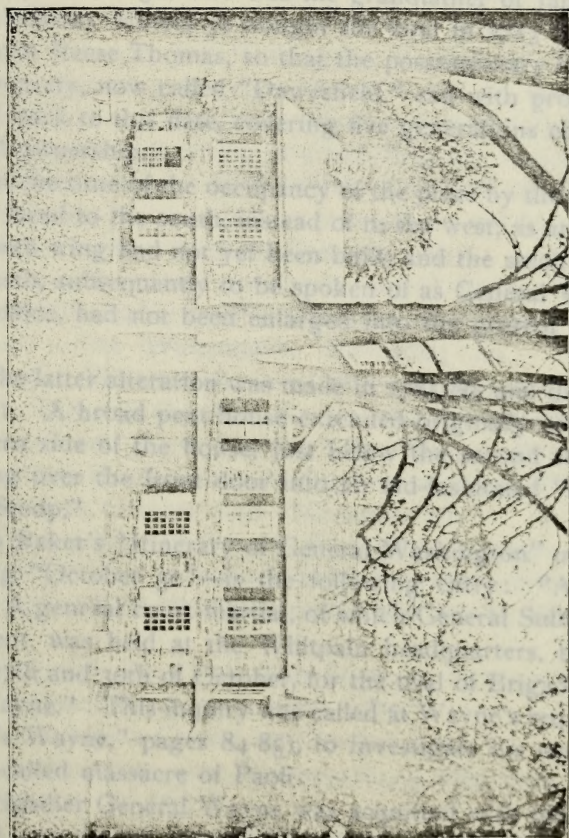
In the "Life of Timothy Pickering," edited by his son Octavius Pickering, in 1867, Vol. I, page 177, is a letter written by Colonel Pickering to his wife, dated "Camp at Whitpain, fifteen miles from Philadelphia, October 20th, 1777," and in the "Itinerary of General Washington," by W. S. Baker, 1892, under the heading "Tuesday, October 21st, 1777," the following entry, taken from Pickering's journal, appears: "At Whitpain, October 21st. The army moved lower down to Whitpain township, within fifteen miles of Philadelphia. Headquarters at Mr. Morris's."

These two quotations prove without doubt that this was the time that the army was encamped in Whitpain township, having moved there from the camp in Towamencin. Some 10,000 men are said to have been encamped in the vicinity of General's headquarters, which was, as above stated, at James Morris's.

The house is still standing and in good preservation, although somewhat altered by succeeding generations. It is now in possession of Mrs. Saunders Lewis, the granddaughter-

of the above-mentioned James Morris. The place is now called Dawesfield, from Abraham Dawes, the younger, whose daughter Elizabeth married James Morris. The house was built in 1736, which date probably designates the completion of the house, as the property came into Abraham Dawes' possession from his father in 1731.

Abraham Dawes, the father, bought the property from Anthony Morris 2d, who was the grandfather of James Mor-



JAMES MORRIS' HOUSE, WHITPAIN.
(Washington's Headquarters.)

On the 29th of October a council of war was held at James Morris's, at which it was decided not to be advisable to make an attack upon Philadelphia. The call for this council is printed in W. G. Ford's "Writings of George

of the above-mentioned James Morris. The place is now called Dawesfield, from Abraham Dawes, the younger, whose daughter Elizabeth married James Morris. The house was built in 1736, which date probably designates the completion of the house, as the property came into Abraham Dawes' possession from his father in 1731.

Abraham Dawes, the father, bought the property from Anthony Morris 3d, who was the grandfather of James Morris. Anthony Morris 3d bought the land in 1713 in connection with Reese Thomas, so that the possessionary interest in the property, now called "Dawesfield," can with propriety be traced back to this date, covering five generations of uninterrupted ownership.

At the time of the occupancy of the place by the army the house faced to the south, instead of to the west, as at present; the south wing had not yet been built, and the small room to the north, subsequently to be spoken of as General Washington's office, had not been enlarged into the present northern wing.

The latter alteration was made in 1785-86, and the former in 1821. A broad pent house extended originally around the southern side of the house, just below the second story, expanding over the front door into an old-fashioned "German-town Stoop."

In Baker's "Itinerary of General Washington" under the heading "October 30"—is the following entry: "At Whitpain: A general court-martial, of which General Sullivan was president, was held at the Whitpain headquarters, the 25th, 26th, 27th and 30th of October, for the trial of Brigadier General Wayne." This inquiry was called at Wayne's request (see "Stille's Wayne," pages 84-85), to investigate his conduct at the so-called massacre of Paoli.

Brigadier General Wayne was acquitted with the highest honors.

On the 29th of October a council of war was held at "James Morris's," at which it was decided not to be advisable to make an attack upon Philadelphia. The call for this council of war is printed in W. C. Ford's "Writings of George

Washington," Vol. VI, page 143. According to the *Pennsylvania Magazine* for July, 1896, pp. 223-227, in an article on the "Defences of Philadelphia," by W. C. Ford, it is stated that the following officers were present "at a Council of War held at Headquarters at Whitpain, October 29th, 1777," viz:

"His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, Major Generals Jno. Sullivan, Nathl. Greene, Adam Stephen, Le Marquis de Lafayette, Alexr. McDougall; Brigadier Generals, William Maxwell, H. Knox, J. Varnum, Anthony Wayne, P. Muhlenberg, G. Weedon, Jed. Huntingdon, T. Conway, Pulaski."

In comparing the above dates, it will be seen that the court-martial was apparently suspended on the 29th in order to hold the Council of War, at which Brigadier General Wayne himself was present. It is believed that both of these meetings were held in the northern wing of the old house, as this is believed to have been the General's office.

In the "Itinerary" previously quoted, under the heading "Sunday, November 2nd," is this entry taken from Pickering's Journal: "At Whitmarsh, November 2d. The army marched to Whitmarsh, about thirteen miles from Philadelphia." This was, therefore, the date that the army left "Camp Whitpain" or "James Morris's" for "George Emlen's," the Whitmarsh Headquarters, having been at Camp Whitpain for thirteen days, October 20th—November 2d.

The headings of General Washington's letters when his headquarters were at James Morris's are rather confusing—see "Writings of General Washington," Vol. VI, by W. C. Ford, viz:

"Skiptack Road, 15th Mile Stone, 25 October, 1777."

"Skiptack Road, 27 October, 1777."

"Philadelphia County, 27 October, 1777."

"Headquarters, near Whitmarsh, 15 miles from Philadelphia, October 30, 1777."

"Headquarters, near Whitmarsh, 1 November, 1777."

After he moves his headquarters to "George Emlen's," he heads several of his letters "Camp at Whitmarsh," one, "Camp near Whitmarsh, 5 November, 1777," and another, "Camp near Whitmarsh, 12 miles from Philadelphia, Novem-

ber 14, 1777," so that a careless reader might easily conclude the two "Camps" to be one and the same.

While at James Morris's, General Washington slept in the second story of the then western wing, the bed and bedstead upon which he rested being still in the house and in good preservation.

General Lafayette was with Washington at this time and occupied the room on the ground floor immediately beneath: this arrangement being made as Lafayette was suffering from a wound of the knee which was received at the Battle of Brandywine, and could not mount the stairs.

During the encampment rain fell almost every day, and the soldiers were compelled during the night to seek shelter in the neighboring barns, and several died from exposure and sickness.

The encampment of so many men in the neighborhood must have caused some distress to the inhabitants, as the following extract from a letter from Mr. Reed to President Wharton, dated "Headquarters, James Morris's, 17 miles from Philadelphia, on the Skippack Road, October 30th," shows: "The long residence of the army in this quarter has proved very distressing to the inhabitants, whose forage must be drawn for their subsistence," See "The Life and Correspondence of President Reed," Vol. I, page 332, by William B. Reed, Philadelphia, 1847.

Most of the trees upon the place were cut down by the army for their use, although those immediately surrounding the house escaped. The mill near the Morris road, known as Wertsner's mill, which was torn down in the fall of 1887, was built by James Morris, in part, out of wood felled by the army.

[Read before the Historical Society. at Fort Washington, September 23, 1897.]

In answer to an inquiry by the editor of this volume, for authority for his statement that Lafayette was with Washington at "James Morris's," Dr. Lewis writes:

"On the 18th of October Lafayette left Bethlehem, where he had been taken on the 21st of September. This is shown by the record

kept at the Single Brethren's House at Bethlehem, which was used by the Continental Army as a hospital:

"Oct. 18—The French Marquis and General Woodford left for the army to-day.' See 'The Marquis de La Fayette in the American Revolution,' Vol. I. By Charlemagne Tower, Jr., Phila., 1895. Mr. Tower states, 'Although his wound was not sufficiently healed to enable him to wear his boot, his impatience to be with the army and his great desire to take part in the remaining movements of the campaign, led him to the headquarters at the camp, in the present Montgomery county, about the 20th of October.' And in a foot note he adds, 'It is likely that La Fayette, who left Bethlehem on the 18th of October, joined the army at Methacton Hill, in Worcester township, where it encamped from the 16th to the 21st of October.'

"The list of officers present at the Council of War on the 29th of October, as quoted in my article, would seem to be sufficient proof that Lafayette was at 'James Morris's' with General Washington. Mrs. Lewis, my mother, remembers her grandmother (Mrs. James Morris) mentioning the fact of Lafayette's presence in the house. On his return to America in 1824, he sent his respects to Mrs. Morris and arrangements were made for him to pay a visit to the place to renew old associations, but shortness of time and press of engagements prevented the looked-for visit."

FORT WASHINGTON'S HISTORIC ENVIRONS.

BY CHARLES S. MANN.

The most interesting period in the history of a state—in truth, the heroic period to those of us who stand where time remotely distant “lends enchantment to the view”—begins with the first settlement of its territory and the organization of its first system of government.

No matter how eventful nor how important it may subsequently become in the arena of the world's affairs, no contemporaneous period can supplant the quaint fascination and the romance which clings around the chronicles of its pioneers and “advance guards of civilization.”

Here, in the old colonies and original states, we love to go back through the annals and traditions of the past to the days of the founders, and learn who first gave metes and bounds to the chartless and unknown wilderness, who named these counties, towns and villages, who built the first homesteads, cleared these fields and tilled the virgin soil, who framed our laws, gained our liberties and enlightened the land with its beacon lights of schools and churches. What manner of men were they and from whence did they come?

We meet to-day in the very heart of some of the oldest settlements in the state. Our county for a full century formed a part of one of the first organized counties in the province, located in the suburbs of the first capital of the United Colonies, one of the oldest, best and most historic cities in America. We are surrounded by ancient landmarks of the Colonial and Revolutionary eras; exceedingly rich in the traditions and associations of our storied and eventful past.

One hundred and twenty years ago next November yonder hillsides were lighted for nearly six weeks with the camp

fires of the Continental Army. The fields of the revolution lie encircled about us and the memorable events of Paoli, Germantown, Fort Washington, Whitemarsh, Valley Forge, Crooked Billet and Barren Hill form one of the most thrilling chapters in our national history.

So rapidly had the fame of Penn's fair and fruitful province, as well as of his liberal principles of government, been circulated abroad, that the tide of immigration which flowed in was something unprecedented, and the growth of his colony was truly marvelous.

By the date of Penn's return to England in 1684 it is said that more than fifty townships had been settled within the original counties of Chester, Philadelphia and Bucks.

This beautiful valley which the Indians were loth to relinquish, and to which they loved to return, did not, therefore, long escape the covetous eye of their troublesome land-grasping, pale-faced neighbors.

Thomas Fairman, the friend of Penn, and one of his deputy surveyor-generals who laid off the Manor of Springfield, in 1684, records that prior to that event he and the proprietary Governor had taken a journey "to look at some land which was afterward called Springfield."

In a bill of charges, Fairman also notes among other items that he was debtor "to a journey with the proprietor and his friends to Umbolekemensin with three of my horses, 12 shillings." Perhaps both of Fairman's statements refer to the same journey, which was probably made in 1683.

We have no record of the Governor's impression of this valley in the hill's embrace, which he beheld in all its natural beauty as he followed the Indian trails over its bordering hills, and guided his horse along the winding banks of the Wissahickon as it rippled along its stony channel through the dense and silent forests. But the fact that he directed Fairman to survey over 4000 acres to be reserved as the property of his wife, leads us to infer that his practical eye was captivated with its worth and beauty. Gulielma Maria Penn was the charming and devoted only daughter of Sir William and Mary Proude Springett, of Darlington, Sussex, England. Her fa-

ther was a parliamentary Colonel in the cause of Hampden and Cromwell. As late as 1738 the Penn family still held about 1600 acres of the former Manor of Springfield.

In October, 1683, William Penn "at the request of Jasper Farmar, Jr., on behalf of his father, Major Jasper Farmar, his brother Richard and himself" granted them 5000 acres of land, being of the lands by the Indians, called Umbilicamence, fronting at one end on the river Schuylkill, and requested Thomas Holmes forthwith to survey or cause to be surveyed the said 5000 acres.

Major Jasper Farmar, an officer in the British Army in the time of Charles II., was the son of George Farmar, Earl of Pomfret. The family name was originally Ricards, alias Fernor or Farmar, from the female branch of an old Norman family, dating back to the reign of William the Conqueror, beginning A. D. 1066.

In the time of Henry VII. they held a family estate at Somerton, Oxfordshire, England.

Major Farmar had lived for many years upon an estate near Cork, in Ireland, but becoming dissatisfied with the turbulent condition of affairs by which he was surrounded was led to embark for Pennsylvania. We do not know that he was either a friend or relative of Penn, but his name and the marked consideration that was shown his request for lands might give us grounds to think that he may have been. Penn's mother's family name was Jasper. Governor Thomas Penn married Juliana Farmar, daughter of the Earl of Pomfret.

According to colonial records Major Farmar sent out John Scull as overseer with a number of servants to settle upon the purchased tract and provide accommodations for his own family upon their arrival. In July, 1685, the Indians complained to the Governor's Council that some of Scull's servants had maltreated and abused them. Major Farmar arrived at Philadelphia, September 10, 1685, on board the Bristol Merchant, Captain John Stevens commander, with his family, consisting of himself, Mary, his wife, and eight children—Edward, Richard, Jasper, Jr., Sarah, John, Robert, Catharine and Charles, and also about twenty servants and artisans.

Major Farmar did not live to see his colony established, as his death occurred just as the vessel came to port in Philadelphia. Jasper, Jr., had also died just previous to his father, and as no settlement had been effected, Madame Farmar, as legatee of her husband's estate, made a partition by which one-half of the 5000 acres by the will became in fee her property, and the other half, that of her sons, Richard and Edward. Richard soon sold his portion and then the widow regained possession and became owner of two-thirds of the original estate, which, with Edward's share, comprised all of White-marsh township, southwest of the Skippack and Church roads to the Schuylkill.

Madame Mary Farmar died near the latter part of 1695, and by will bequeathed all her estate to her son Edward, who located here at a very early date, and built the first mill in the township on the Wissahickon, which supplied all the early settlers in the surrounding country, even as far north as Franconia and Upper Salford.

Settling here while yet much of the country was in possession of the Indians, Edward became familiar with their language and became a famous interpreter; was also justice of the Philadelphia county courts for forty years; was elected a member of the Provincial Assembly in 1710, and continued to serve with but few intervals until his death, November 3, 1745.

Nicholas Scull, son of Nicholas, who came in the same ship with Farmar, or John, who came earlier, was also an interpreter of great ability, and had few equals as surveyor. He conducted treaties with the Indians at Conestoga, 1728, at New Hanover the same year, and in 1729 at Shamokin and the Minisinks, on the upper Delaware. In 1744 he was commissioned Sheriff of Philadelphia county, and served in that capacity for many years. He was made Surveyor General in 1748, and filled the position until his death in 1761, when he was succeeded by John Lukens, of Horsham.

John Scull, a member of this same family, carried the first printing press across the Allegheny Mountains, and founded the *Commercial Gazette* at Pittsburg, in 1786. This was the first press and newspaper in the entire Mississippi Valley.

Whitemarsh is one of the most beautiful of our old colonial names, yet there is considerable uncertainty concerning the origin and first application of the name. For the first quarter of a century it was known as "Farmarstown." In 1720 it was written Farmarstown, alias Whitemarsh, and thereafter invariably Whitemarsh. Dr. Millet, in his history of St. Thomas Church, states that the name was derived from a parish of that name in England.

This has been called in question, by some other authorities, who have claimed that there was no counterpart to the name in existence, but they are evidently in error, for localities bearing the name Whitemarsh exist to-day in Maryland and Virginia.

In 1713 the German inhabitants of Van Bebbers township on the Skippack, petitioned the Court of Quarter Sessions that a road be laid out from Skippack to the "Wide marsh" at Farmar's Mill. William A. Yeakle, beyond a doubt, in his history of the township, believed that the name was a variation of wide marsh, originating from the general character of the grassy lowlands for miles on either side of the Wissahickon. Others claim that the name was suggested by the color of the clay and limestone soil of the valley.

Whilst Dr. Sheeleigh thinks it possible that it may have been bestowed by some of the early German settlers, who were either followers of Menno Simon or had been natives or residents of his birthplace at Witmarsum, Friesland, Holland, down to 1740 the name was variously written "Witmarsh" and "Witmarshan." Lying so close to the thrifty German colony of Pastorious it is not strange that the enterprising and aggressive spirits of that vicinity looking from the rugged heights of Chestnut Hill fixed wistful eyes upon the vacant acres of the Penns and Farmers as fast as they were placed upon the market. Among the early families of this race in Springfield were the Ottingers, Heydricks, Yeakles, Rexes, Bisbings, Snyders, Streepers, Staleys and Leverings.

In this township, English families, like the Farmers, Robesons, Maulsbeys, Lancasters, Dickinsons, Mathers, Shepherds, Gilberts, Woods and others; Welsh families, like the

Jones's, Davis's, Morris's, Merediths, Williams's, Potts's and Coulstons, were first on the ground, but by the time of the Revolution the families of German lineage had made such encroachments upon their territory, that they outnumbered both the English and Welsh. In a list of 1780 we find Katzs, Hagys, Millers, Hausers, Shoemakers, Conards, Lentzs, Wolfs, Daggers, Bartlesons, Mitschels, Ketlers, Hiltners, Cressmans, Freas's, Streepers, Fishers, Snyders, Dewees, Kulps, Acuffs, Aimans, Scheetz, Lukens, Engharts, Egberts and Rapines.

Here in this province was begun that harmonious commingling of races on a broader, more comprehensive scope than the world ever saw, and in these townships, English, Welsh, Germans, Hollanders and Irish, Churchmen, Friends, Lutherans, Reformers and Schwenkfelders dwelt side by side. Upper Dublin, over the line of which the streets of this village overlap, was known as "The Second Dublin Township" as early as 1693 to distinguish it from Lower Dublin along the Pennypeck and the Delaware. The Burk family purchased a large tract of land in the western corner of the township situated between the Susquehanna street road and the Whitemarsh line as early as 1698 and were probably among the first settlers, while about the same date came Fitzwaters, Spencers, Kirks, Tysons, Cleavers, Conards, Shoemakers and Lukens, generally English and German Friends, who by intermarriage and association with families of English descent became essentially English themselves. Somewhat later came other German names, as Shaffer, Engard, Aimans, Houpts, Stouts, Ryneer and others.

One of the most historic churches in Pennsylvania and a prominent landmark for miles around is St. Thomas's Episcopal Church of Whitemarsh, dating back according to well-founded tradition as early as 1695, making it coëval with Christ's Church, of Philadelphia. Old Oxford and St. David's, at Radnor; the beautiful grounds upon which it stands having been donated by Edward Farmar in 1710 and under the chancel of the old church his body has mouldered to dust.

St. Peter's Lutheran Church, at Barren Hill, is equally

as conspicuous as St. Thomas's as a landmark and perhaps more famous in history.

As early as 1752 families from the mother church, St. Michael's, at Germantown, who lived in the vicinity, assembled in their homes for worship, and the corner-stone of the first church was laid by Rev. Henry M. Muhlenberg, 1761. Around its walls marched the contending armies of Howe and Lafayette, and there the "Stripling Frenchman," by a skilful maneuver, outgeneraled and escaped his wily foes.

Zion Lutheran Church, of Whitemarsh, was founded in 1818 by members of St. Michael's Church, at Germantown, and St. Peter's, at Barren Hill, in union with the followers of the Reformed Church, descendants no doubt of the lost church of Whitemarsh.

It occupies a most beautiful location close to a portion of the old camp-ground, where tent marks still remain.

The handsome new Reformed Church of Whitemarsh, on the opposite side of the street, was recently erected by the congregation which formerly worshipped in Union Church.

The water power of the Wissahickon was early recognized and put to service. The famous flouring mills of Whitemarsh and Upper Dublin, antedating the Revolution, are worthy of special notice, but for the lack of time we must pass them by along with a vast amount of interesting data.

The fleet of Admiral Richard Howe, which sailed from Staten Islands in midsummer of 1777, bound for the head of the Chesapeake and the capture of Philadelphia transferred, as it were, the horrors, the sufferings, the hardships, and the enthusiasm of war to the peaceful and prosperous land of Pennsylvania.

Washington immediately advanced to meet the enemy, and on the 11th of September bravely endeavored to prevent Howe's passage at the fords of the Brandywine, but with an army greatly inferior to the enemy in number, arms, discipline and general equipment, the odds against him were too great to have left a reasonable hope of victory, and at the close of the day's engagement at Chadsford and Birmingham

meeting he was obliged to withdraw, leaving the enemy master of the field.

The whole army retreated to Chester under cover of Greene's division, where the broken columns collected and reformed during the night. The next day they marched up through Darby over the Schuylkill bridge and encamped near the Falls of Schuylkill.

Howe's army lay the night of the 11th on the field of battle, and remained there next day. He afterward proceeded to Concord Meeting House and Village Green.

Allowing his army only a day for rest and refreshment, Washington recrossed the Schuylkill and moved out the Lancaster road, with the intention of meeting the enemy and risking another engagement. On the 16th, intending to gain ground on the left of the British, he had reached Warren Tavern, where very early that morning information was received that Howe had moved from Concord by the Edgemont roads, and was advancing up the valley to gain the American right. The whole army was immediately put in motion and made ready to meet the enemy and engage him in battle. Intending to gain the Lancaster road, Howe had marched early that morning toward Goshen Meeting-house, where he learned that Washington was only five miles from that place. Both armies hastily prepared for action. The advance guards met between Goshen Meeting-house and the White Horse Tavern, and were beginning to skirmish when a terrific thunder storm burst forth and the rain fell in torrents. When the storm had subsided the Americans found their ammunition so badly damaged that further action was impossible.

The inferior condition of their muskets—many of which were unfit for service—exposed them at all times to an unequal contest with the enemy, but now, in addition to defective flintlocks, their situation was made extremely serious by the absence, to a very great extent, of even bayonets.

Rendered wholly unfit for active service, Washington was reluctantly compelled to withdraw his army to a place of safety. Retreating late that day and most of the night in a cold, distressing rain, over the deep, heavy roads, they reached the

Yellow Springs, destitute of tents and baggage, a few hours before day on the 17th of September, and halted a short time for rest and refreshments.

An examination of their arms and ammunition disclosed the alarming fact that scarcely a musket in a regiment, or one charge of powder in a cortridge box, with forty rounds per man, could be discharged.

Under these circumstances the army decided to retire still further from the enemy, to Warwick Furnace, a strong position easily defended, in order that they might clean their arms and procure a fresh supply of ammunition, hoping yet that they might be able to dispute the passage of the Schuylkill with Howe and make another effort to save Philadelphia.

The British did not attempt pursuit of Washington during this exceedingly wet weather. Howe merely united his forces and remained in camp near White Horse until the 18th when he moved nearer the river and encamped in Tredyffrin.

On the 19th Washington's main army crossed the Schuylkill at Parkersford, moved down the eastern bank of the river and encamped at the mouth of the Perkiomen.

General Wayne had been sent from Warwick with a detachment of fifteen hundred men to join General Smallwood's and Colonel Gist's corps of Maryland Militia, who were following in the rear of Howe to cut off his supplies and to intercept and annoy his operations.

On the night of the 20th of September Wayne encamped in the woods at the intersection of the Darby and Lancaster roads in the vicinity of Paoli tavern, some three miles in the rear of Howe. Taking every precaution to ensure the safety of his command the men were ordered to sleep on their arms with their ammunition in their coats.

About midnight the notorious "no flint," or "flintless" Gen. Grey—so nicknamed because of his favorite mode of attack by ordering his men to remove the flints from the locks of their fire-arms and rely upon the bayonet—with a detachment of British, led by the tories, suddenly fell upon Wayne's camp in the darkness and rain, drove their bayonets through the sentinels, and charged upon the sleeping patriots

without firing a shot. In the confusion Wayne's men endeavored to form in the light of their own fires. With brutal butchery and without quarter, three hundred of Wayne's men were slain before they could retreat under cover of darkness. Smallwood was within a mile of Wayne, but the militia became panic stricken and fled in confusion, upon the approach of a party of British, returning from the massacre.

Having secured his rear from attack by driving Wayne out of his way, Howe advanced up the Schuylkill, and stationed his forces along the river, in front of the American army, between Fatland and Gordon's Ford.

Remembering Howe's tactics at Brandywine, Washington was apprehensive that the enemy were endeavoring to cross the river above and cut off his access to the military stores and provisions deposited at Reading, without which the American army could not exist, returned up the river on the 22d of September, and encamped at Pottsgrove.

On the afternoon of the 22d of September, Howe sent a division of his forces to take possession of Gordon's and Fatland ford. They dispersed the Americans on guard and held the passes until the whole British army crossed the river by midnight at Fatland ford, one-half mile below Valley Forge, and went into camp between Stony creek and Swedesford.

With an army suffering from the excessive hardships and fatigue occasioned by constant marching in stormy weather since the battle of Brandywine, it was impossible for Washington to overtake the enemy or give immediate pursuit.

Frequently separated from their tents and baggage in the active operations of the past fortnight, the troops had been exposed to heavy rains without shelter. More than a thousand were barefooted, and forced to march over muddy roads and swollen streams in that condition.

Cold, wet and hungry, destitute of so much essential to their health and comfort, scores of the patriots were obliged to lodge on the damp ground without tent or blanket. In this extremity, when Washington's army was unable to make a forced movement upon the enemy, a council of general officers was held, and decided to remain at Pottsgrove until

reënforcements should arrive and allow the army a few days' rest.

Unmolested in his advance toward Philadelphia, Howe leisurely passed down through Plymouth, Whitemarsh, Barren Hill, Chestnut Hill and Germantown, where the main body was encamped.

On September 26th, Washington moved his forces east from Pottsgrove to Pennypacker's Mills, on the Perkiomen, where he was joined by Wayne's and Smallwood's divisions, and also Gen. Forman, with some 800 New Jersey militia, increasing his forces fit for duty to about 8000 Continentals and about 3000 militia. In a council of General officers it was agreed to move the army nearer the city and wait for a favorable opportunity to attack the enemy. September 30th they encamped on the Methacton hills, in Worcester township.

About noon, October 3d, says Bancroft, Washington announced to his army encamped on Methacton hill, his purpose to move upon the enemy's camp at Germantown. He spoke to them of the success of the Northern army and explained that Howe, who lay a distance of several miles from Cornwallis, had further weakened himself by sending a division into New Jersey to operate against the defences on the Delaware. If they would be brave and patient he might on the next day lead them to victory. It was proposed, if possible, to surprise the camp at Germantown, and attack both wings in front and rear at the same time.

After dark, on the evening of the 3d of October, the American army silently marched down Skippack road toward Germantown. It was designed to fall upon the enemy before daybreak, but, owing to the condition of the road, it was after sunrise when the advance guards emerged from the woods on Chestnut Hill.

The attack had been made with spirit and for a time the enemy was driven in consternation from his position with flattering prospects of victory, but owing to the dense fog, darkened by the smoke of the engagement, it became impossible for the troops to act in concert or distinguish friend from foe, a general confusion prevailed and the confidence felt at the

opening of the engagement was entirely lost. With infinite chagrin Washington was compelled to relinquish the victory he had thought within his grasp. Two hundred Americans were killed, perhaps 500 wounded and 400 taken prisoners. Among the mortally wounded was General Francis Nash, a brave and very valuable officer.

The Americans driven back over the roads down which they had marched in the morning took refuge at Pennypacker's Mills until the night of the 8th of October, when the army moved southeast some ten miles and encamped near the Mennonite meeting-house in Towamensing.

Here in the old Mennonite burying ground Gen. Nash was buried on the morning of the 9th of October with the honors of war. Remaining just one week the army returned on the 16th to Peter Wentz's in Worcester, to the grounds it had occupied previous to the attack on Germantown.

It was here on the 18th that the spirits of the well-nigh disheartened American army were cheered and encouraged by the news of Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga. With thankful heart Washington ordered divine service and thanksgiving to be celebrated by the chaplains at the head of each regiment at 5 o'clock, to be followed by a salute of thirteen cannon and a volley of musketry.

The evacuation of Germantown by Howe on the 19th of October led Washington to change his position to a field less distant from the enemy, and on the 21st of October he encamped near the Blue Bell tavern in Whitpain township, with headquarters at James Morris's.

At this period the gravest concern was felt for the maintenance of Forts Mifflin and Mercer, the twin guards of the Delaware, which had so long resisted the advance of Admiral Howe's fleet. It was earnestly hoped that if these posts could hold out perhaps General Howe, separated from his shipping and deprived of supplies, would be compelled to evacuate Philadelphia.

During the days of suspense and anxiety, Washington again drew nearer the city, and on the second day of November took a commanding position on the heights of Upper

Dublin and Whitemarsh. At the foot of the timbered hillside and bordering the level meadows of the Sandy Run in the large and substantial stone mansion, 80x27 feet, of George Emlen, now the homestead of Charles T. Aiman, General Washington made his headquarters for nearly six weeks, while directly above, on the sunny slopes of Camp Hill, extended the main line of the Continental Army, defended by a line of fortifications and intrenchments not yet entirely obliterated by the plowshares of a century. Half a mile further to the right on the ridge between the Sandy Run and the Wissahickon the strong redoubt of Fort Washington was thrown up to cover the approach from the Germantown road.

While still westward beyond the Wissahickon, 700 Pennsylvania militia, commanded by General Potter, a brave and efficient officer, dug their trenches and pitched their tents among the fallen leaves of that long and rocky elevation since known as Militia Hill.

Here at Whitemarsh Washington was reënforced by fifteen regiments of Massachusetts line, under Generals Larned, Paterson and Glover; three regiments from New Hampshire, under General Poor, and Morgan's corps of riflemen.

With the stirring events which filled the eventful period that the army spent before leaving for the winter encampment at Valley Forge I will not further vex your patience, feeling that the ground will be more completely and more ably covered in the program of the afternoon by the venerable father of our local history, William J. Buck, of Jenkintown.

'Tis true that our engagements at Paoli, Brandywine, Germantown, Whitemarsh and Valley Forge were not the signal victories of Saratoga nor Yorktown, yet, nevertheless, the hardships, sufferings and discouragements of those trying days were harder to endure and required a stouter, more resolute determination than the shock of successful arms.

Every place where liberty was nurtured, every field where patriots died, will become shrines more precious to every succeeding generation.

[Read before the Historical Society, at Fort Washington, September 23, 1897.]

THE BATTLE OF EDGE HILL.

BY WILLIAM J. BUCK.

After the unsuccessful attack of the army at Germantown, October 4th, 1777, Washington returned to his former position on the west side of the Perkiomen creek, in the vicinity of the present village of Schwenksville, to rest his men after their severe marches, care for the wounded and await reënforcements. After remaining there until the morning of the 8th, when in the midst of a cold and violent rain storm the encampment was broken up, they proceeded to Towamencin township, a short distance above Kulpsville. About the 20th the army arrived at Whitemarsh, where the commander-in-chief selected a strong position, since known as Camp Hill, then heavily covered with timber. Around the brow of this elevation intrenchments were thrown up, mounted with cannon for the greater security of the camp, in case of any sudden or unexpected attack from the enemy in the city. The prudence of this effort will duly appear.

On October 24th Washington wrote from Whitemarsh on the deplorable condition of the army: "It gives me great concern to inform Congress, that after all my exertions we are still in a distressed situation for want of blankets and shoes. At this time no inconsiderable part of our force are incapable of acting through the deficiency of the latter, and I fear without we can be relieved, it will be the case with two-thirds of the army in the course of a few days." On the 17th of November he gives us this additional information: "I am informed that it is a matter of amazement, and that reflections have been thrown out against this army for not being more active and

enterprising than in the opinion of some they ought to have been. If this charge is just, the best way to account for it will be to refer you to the returns of our strength, and those I can produce of the enemy, and the enclosed abstract of the clothing now actually wanting, and then I think, the wonder will be how they keep the field at all in tents at this season of the year. What stock the clothier-general has to supply this demand, or what are his prospects, he himself will inform you, as I have directed him to go to York to lay these matters before Congress." [Ford's "Writings of George Washington," Vol. VI, pages 139, 205.]

The sudden and unexpected attack at Germantown caused the enemy to rest uneasy, and not long thereafter to withdraw all their forces into the city, where they immediately commenced strengthening their position. Respecting this we extract the following interesting information from a letter written by General Reed to President Wharton, dated November 30th, wherein he states that they "have constructed a chain of redoubts on the most commanding ground, extending from the Schuylkill to the Delaware, on a line with Tench Francis's house. They are framed, planked, and of great thickness, surrounded with a deep ditch, enclosed and friezed. The intervals are filled with an abatis composed of all the apple trees in the neighborhood, and many large trees from the Pennsbury woods." [Life of Gen. Jos. Reed, by Wm. B. Reed. Vol I, page 341.] To accomplish this was no doubt the cause that prevented the British from venturing out sooner to meet Washington, so that in case of a defeat they could thus keep themselves more secure in the city.

General Burgoyne having surrendered on the 17th of October to General Gates, Col. Daniel Morgan and his battalion of riflemen at the urgent request of Washington were sent on with all possible despatch, and exactly a month later arrived at the camp; and General Greene's division, including Huntington's brigade, also came on December 1st. These with several other additions, increased the force to about 11,000 men. Washington, in his letter to Congress, December 10th, states "that in the course of last week, from a variety of intelligence,

"I had reason to expect that General Howe was preparing to give us a general action." [Ford's "Writings of George Washington." Vol. VI, page 237.] We observe by this that he at once prepared himself for the emergency that might soon happen. The British army left the city on the night of Thursday, December 4th, no doubt with intention to surprise Washington in a march not exceeding fourteen miles. This force numbered about 12,000 effective and well-equipped men, an inconsiderable portion only being left in the city and redoubts.

Captain McLane, who had been sent forward with 100 chosen light horsemen to watch the enemy, observed them on the advance at Three Mile run, a short distance below the Rising Sun, on the Germantown road. They passed forward, however, beyond Chestnut Hill, where in the vicinity of Flourtown a brief halt occurred, no doubt to study the situation as to an attack.

In consequence of the announcement of this approach by the light horsemen Dr. Albigeance Waldo, surgeon of the Connecticut Regiment, states in his Diary (Penn. Mag. Vol. 21), that at three o'clock in the morning of the 5th, the alarm guns were fired, and the troops immediately paraded at their several posts, as the enemy were approaching in full force. He adds that nothing further remarkable ensued this day, though as a matter of precaution the troops lay all night on their arms, the baggage being all sent away, except "what a man might run or fight with." He further remarks that since his arrival within the past four days, they had erected temporary huts from sticks and leaves to shelter themselves as best they could from the inclemency of the weather. In this state of affairs, Brig. General Irvine, with 600 Pennsylvania militia, was sent forward by Washington to reconnoitre and skirmish with their light advanced parties on Chestnut Hill, but unfortunately fell in with them before he got to the foot of the same, a trifle over two miles from the camp. A conflict ensued, but the men gave way before superior numbers, leaving the General wounded, with four or five others, who were taken prisoners, the enemy having also fully suffered to this extent.

In the night the British moved towards the northeast, approaching within a mile of the encampment; the valley and stream of Sandy Run intervening, where on Edge Hill they remained all day (December 6th), evidently in a dilemma as to their next movements. Respecting this position, Washington states truthfully that they were very advantageously posted, where they remained quite all day. Dr. Waldo mentions the enemy "having now formed a line from our right to the extremity of our left upon an opposite long height to ours in a wood." He further adds in these movements in the night, "our wise General is determined not to be attacked napping." From corroborative evidence we know that in this extension their line reached fully three miles, directly now in front of the American camp.

At one o'clock in the morning of Sunday (December 7th) they inclined still further to the American left, or northeast. By this additional advance there was reason to apprehend that they were determined on a general attack, if Washington could not be induced to leave his stronghold. Ascertaining that they were extensively plundering the farmers in the vicinity of their horses, cattle, grain and provender; to check this, their advanced and flanking parties were ordered to be attacked by Colonel Morgan and his corps, supported by General Potter's brigade, Colonel Gist's Maryland militia and Colonel Webb's Continental Regiment, who were sent forward for this purpose. Morgan first met them, and a sharp and severe conflict ensued. To stand their ground the British were compelled to concentrate their forces. Owing to decided superiority of numbers, the militia fell back near sunset, as it was determined by Washington that no general engagement should take place unless they should attack him in his position.

The British in this advance had now secured a higher and more commanding position, and each party as far as the woods permitted, owing to the cleared ground of the valley, could get a tolerable view of each other's movements in this distance. Washington felt certain that an attack on his camp was meditated. With this in view he visited his several Major and Brigadier Generals, giving them minute instructions as to his

wishes, and thus additionally inspire the heartiest coöperation of the troops. As the day was passing away it soon became apparent that if Lord Howe did not dare attack him he must ere long retreat at this severe season back to the city ingloriously, without accomplishing the least possible prospect of success.

Washington, in his letter to Congress, thus alludes to the situation: "On Sunday they inclined still further to our left, and from every appearance, there was reason to apprehend they were determined on an action. In this movement, their advanced and flanking parties were warmly attacked by Colonel Morgan and his corps, and also by the Maryland militia under Colonel Gist. Their loss I cannot ascertain, but I am informed it was considerable, having regard to the number of the corps engaged. About sunset, after various marches and countermarches, they halted; and I still supposed, from their disposition and preceding maneuvers that they would attack us in the night or early the next morning, but in this I was mistaken." [Ford's "Writings of George Washington." Vol. VI, page 238.]

Respecting this day's occurrences we glean some additional information from Dr. Waldo: "The alarm was given and our troops were at their several posts. Towards noon Colonel Webb's regiment were partly surrounded and attacked on the right. They being overpowered with numbers, retreated with loss. The firing now continued on the left, as though a general attack was to begin there. On this supposition the left was reënforced, but a scattering fire was kept up by Morgan's battalion at intervals all day, and concluded with a skirmish near sunset. Our troops lay on their arms this night also, with some firing among the pickets."

From this latter statement we do not wonder that there must have been considerable alarm occasioned as to the likelihood of a general engagement, and little sleep was secured in either camp. He states that at this time the American line extended three miles on Camp Hill, defended with an abatis in front, with another at its east extremity, from which in the rear it was continued for some distance towards the south-

west. This night five men were taken from each regiment in Varnum's and Huntingdon's brigades, who, as volunteers, were attached to Morgan's riflemen, to harass the enemy in a second encounter, and excite them to battle. Some regiments were also ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march out if there should be a conflict in earnest. The situation of the British from the continued inclemency of the weather was becoming more and more critical, but to help deceive the Americans they kindled up huge fires on their elevated position in the woods, that were kept burning until dawn.

In the afternoon of the 8th, Dr. Waldo mentions a skirmish near the enemy's lines against our left, and towards night some cannon fired against the right, as well as on our left. Their horse they appeared to keep busily moving. At 12 o'clock this night seventeen regiments were ordered to parade immediately before Washington's quarters, under command of Sullivan and Wayne. They were there by one, when intelligence came the enemy had made a precipitous retreat, and had got safely to the city. They were now remanded back from the south side of Edge Hill, near the Limekiln road, and several draughts of rum given them to warm their frozen bodies, which soon caused them to fall asleep in their open huts until morning, when they arose greatly stiffened in their limbs from the cold.

In regard to this day's occurrences, Washington states that "in the afternoon they began to move again and instead of advancing, filed off from their right, and the first certain account that I could obtain of their intentions was that they were in full retreat towards Philadelphia by two or three routes. I immediately detached light parties after them to fall on their rear, but they were not able to come up with them. I sincerely wish they had made an attack, as the issue, in all probability, from the disposition of our troops and the strong situation of our camp, would have been fortunate and happy. At the same time, I must add that reason, prudence and every principle of policy, forbade us quitting our post to attack them. Nothing but success would have justified the measure; and this could not be expected from their position." [Ford's

"Writings of George Washington." Vol. VI, page 239.] In this hurried and silent retreat they appear to have first departed by the Church road, next by the Limekiln road, and lastly by the Susquehanna street road, and thence down the Old York road, through Jenkintown, Shoemaker's and Rising Sun to the city, where their final columns arrived before evening.

Concerning the loss of human life and the damage done the wounded in these two days' attacks on Edge Hill, as usual in such cases, there have been a variety of contradictory statements. To help give some additional information on this matter, I shall present the reports of both sides as far as I have been enabled to ascertain from some research thereon, which it is probable no one has as yet so fully investigated. Washington in his report to the President of Congress, written three days after, states: "The enemy's loss I cannot ascertain. One account from the city is that 500 wounded had been sent in; another is, that 82 wagons had gone in with men in this situation. These I fear are both exaggerated, and not to be depended upon. We lost 27 men in Morgan's corps, killed and wounded, besides Major Morris, a brave and gallant officer, who is among the latter. Of the Maryland militia there were 16 or 17 wounded. I have not received further returns yet." [Ford's "Writings of George Washington." Vol. VI, page 239.]

Christopher Marshall in his Diary states that "General Howe had returned in the evening of the 8th, to the great astonishment of the citizens, leaving behind him about 200 of his men, in slain and taken prisoners." [Duane's "Diary of Christopher Marshall," page 148.] Watson, in his "Annals of Philadelphia," mentions that the British had brought "along with them about 40 loads of wounded." [Watson's Annals. Edition of 1898. Vol. II, page 71.] Captain Stedman makes no mention whatever respecting their loss. Major Simcoe, of the Queen's Rangers, states that "the loss of the rebels was computed at near 100, with little more on the part of the King's troops" [Simcoe's Military Journal, page 31], and adds reluctantly that several of his men have deserted. General Howe, in his report from

Philadelphia, December 13th, to Lord Germain, respecting the Edge Hill affair, says: "The thickness of the wood where the rebels were posted, concealed them from the light infantry, and occasioned the loss of one officer and three wounded from their first fire." Graham, in his life of General Morgan, asserts that "though the accounts may have been exaggerated, it is nevertheless susceptible of proof that during the period between the appearance of the enemy at Three Mile run, and their return to Philadelphia, they incurred a loss of 350 men, killed and wounded. But on the other hand, the rifle corps suffered severely." [Life of Gen. Daniel Morgan, by James Graham. Page 184.] In comparing these statements it will be perceived that the struggle from the loss of life and wounded must have been much more desperate than has heretofore been generally supposed, although the British as usual say little or nothing about their loss.

Sir William Howe, the British commander, in this expedition must have had with him above three-fourths of his entire available force, and he was no doubt prompted by the unfortunate condition of the American army at this time for the want of shoes, clothing and blankets, as well as military supplies. In the attack on Morgan and Colonel Gist, Lieutenant General Cornwallis had command, and General Howe states he engaged with the First Light Infantry, supported by the Thirty-third Regiment. After the first fire, Major General Grey, with his brigades, and the Queen's Rangers, Hessians and Anspach Chasseurs, under Lieut. General Kniphausen rallied to their support and no doubt had partly surrounded the American forces, for the British account states that they were brought under a cross-fire. The rank of the officers, as well as the troops mentioned, proves that a considerable force of Howe's army must have been rapidly concentrated, with a view to enclose and overwhelm them through superiority of numbers. Under the circumstances it was prudent as well as fortunate to fall back, protected as they were by a range of woods extending many miles northeastwards, a direction that had the enemy pursued, would only have led

them the further away from the base of their supplies, and checked the movements of their artillery.

The Queen's Rangers, who had to bear considerable of the brunt from the American riflemen, merit some further account, as among them were several native born descendants of old families, chiefly of English descent, from the neighboring townships in Bucks and what is now Montgomery county. This corps was almost entirely composed of American Loyalists, or Tories, but were commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Abercrombie and Major Simcoe, of the British army. This regiment was noted for the ferocity exhibited in their several night attacks on the Americans, notably at Paoli, on General Lacey's command at Hatboro, and in New Jersey, for which their countrymen had stigmatized them as "The Blood-hounds of the Revolution." They numbered a few months previously 300 men, divided into ten companies. They wore a green uniform trimmed with black, but fashioned after the manner of our riflemen, by which they were sometimes mistaken by our countrymen, and thus impressed into their service. Owing to the heavy loss at Brandywine, they were soon after considerably recruited; yet when they surrendered with Cornwallis's army at Yorktown they were reduced to 320 men. So those that deserted here escaped the subsequent misfortunes of their corps.

Some consideration is now demanded as to the conduct of the British army in this four days marauding excursion on the defenceless inhabitants who were so unfortunate as to be at their mercy. Christopher Marshall states that at Beggarstown, now Mount Airy, a short distance below Chestnut Hill, they set several houses on fire, pillaged and took away with them "everything that came in their way that was portable and of any value, besides burning and destroying many houses and other effects; also taking with them by force all the boys they could lay hands on above the age of ten years." [Duane's "Diary of Christopher Marshall," page 149.] Their return to the city created great astonishment, and the reason appeared to be that they thought it most prudent to decline making an attack. "The Hessians on their march com-

mitted great outrages on the inhabitants, particularly at John Shoemaker's, whom they very much abused, brought in 700 head of cattle, set fire to the house on Germantown road called the Rising Sun, and committed many depredations." [Thomas Westcott's History of Philadelphia. Vol. I, page 368.] Major Simcoe admits that they had secured "several good, hardy, serviceable horses, so that the Huzzars were well mounted, which bore a very unusual share of fatigue."

John Shoemaker was a well-to-do farmer and miller, who resided beside the York road, in the present village of Ogontz, and who, the year before, was assessed here for a gristmill, 9 horses, 6 cattle and 110 acres of land. From him they no doubt must have made a considerable seizure. As to their having secured 700 head of cattle, that is likely an exaggeration. The old Rising Sun inn stood a few hundred yards above the junction of the York road and the Germantown road, being noted on Scull and Heap's map of 1750, and was maintained as a public house down to about 1880. Its hipped roof and venerable appearance arrests the attention of antiquaries. It belonged to the Nice family, after whom Nicetown was called, distinguished for their services all through the war, which explains why it was set on fire. Ryner Tyson resided at the intersection of the Jenkintown and Edge Hill roads, half a mile northwest of the present village of Weldon, the same recently owned by George Hamel. The enemy seized all his grain and fed it to their horses, wasting what was not used. This account has been transmitted to us by his son Benjamin Tyson, who was then about ten years of age, and became the subsequent owner of the farm. Similar depredations were also committed on the neighboring farmers.

William Homer died January 31st, 1860, aged upwards of 92 years, on his paternal homestead, about a mile northwest of the Willow Grove, where he resided all his days. He informed the writer in 1854, that on the day after the first attack on Edge Hill he attended school, where is now the village, and that a two horse wagon load of wounded riflemen were brought to the Red Lion inn, then kept by Joseph Butler in the fork of the York road, and that he and other pupils from

curiosity proceeded hither and beheld a spectacle that most sadly impressed them. These wounded men appeared in great anguish, with bloody garments. The sight so shocked them that they hurried back in dread to the school-house, and remained therein until dismissed. He said these men were left there to be attended to, and were subsequently removed. This was distant a trifle less than two miles from the conflict. A road led directly from there and came out opposite the inn, but in the past sixty years it has been partly vacated. He remembered the riflemen with their fringed dresses, a short time previously being at that place, where they were practicing at a mark in the orchard, and that they gave him a hatchet to cut the bullets from the targets, for which they recompensed him with a few farthings. He found them social, and learned through this intercourse that they were from Virginia. This is conclusive that they must have been Morgan's men, and had returned but a few days before from their victorious career with Burgoyne's forces at Saratoga.

Mr. Homer related that when those riflemen had fallen back to the Susquehanna street road they got to the long-known Heston homestead, at the foot of Edge Hill, now owned by Alexander Neely. In front of this house was a long stone wall directly facing that road and which the writer remembers was still there in 1850. They there stationed themselves behind it, with a determination, if pursued or attacked, to make a stand. They had not been here long when a British trooper was seen coming in full run down the hill on the road, and when he arrived directly opposite they opened fire on him, when he fell to the ground. This distance, according to a scale on a late map of Abington township, was ascertained to be about 400 yards, or slightly less than a quarter of a mile, which is not at all improbable for rifle bullets to be effective. This shows that the British did not attempt to pursue the Americans beyond the vicinity of the engagement. It is supposed that the trooper was one of the deserters mentioned by Major Simcoe from Abercrombie's regiment of Tories, and thus availed himself of this opportunity to escape to his home.

Joseph Hallowell, who was also a lifetime and nearer res-

ident to Willow Grove than Mr. Homer, whose death occurred in November, 1845, aged 85 years, stated that prior to 1800, Edge Hill and Camp Hill on nearly to the Schuylkill river were still extensively covered with original forest, that owing to the size of the trees, there was but little or no obstacle to riding on horseback through the same in any direction, and that he had been frequently forced to do this in search of his strayed cattle. This information as regards the old forest is interesting, as showing the condition of the country around here in the Revolution. He corroborates also Mr. Homer's statements, that the British did partly retreat from Edge Hill by the Susquehanna street road to where is now the village of Abington, and thence down the York road through Jenkintown. This is also confirmed by an advertisement in one of the Philadelphia papers, published soon after the British evacuation, that at that place they had left behind them a heavy farm wagon, which the owner thereof by coming forward and proving property could secure. This no doubt was brought about in their hasty departure, they making sure of the horses to assist their escape after having drawn it thus far.

In February, 1856, Zachariah Greene in his 97th year was still residing near Hempstead, Long Island, about 21 miles east of the city of New York. He was wounded in the first day's engagement. He furnished the writer with the following relation, remarkable to state at this advanced age he still retained a good memory: "I was in the battle near Whitmarsh, where the British were robbing the people of their cattle, horses, corn, wheat, hay and other property. We marched in haste without a change of clothes to their relief. We reached the field of battle the 7th of December, 1777, in the afternoon. I was on the right flank of the advanced guard, my brother on the left, and we were both wounded. My wound was dressed in one of General Washington's rooms, and then we left the house to make room for others, and took up our lodging in a horse-shed, without a blanket or an overcoat, and lay on buckwheat straw. The night was sleepless, the cold distressing, and it was difficult to describe the anguish I endured in my shattered bones, but it was for American freedom. The next

morning, General Greene procured rooms for myself and brother, where my wound was dressed by the young ladies of the family."

The important part that Col. Daniel Morgan's riflemen took in those two days' engagements, deserves some further mention. The Rev. H. M. Muhlenberg, in his Journal, written at the Trappe the previous year, gives us some interesting information respecting the Riflemen and Hessians, which has a bearing on the subject from their having here come directly in conflict with each other. He says that "Several Hessian prisoners have been brought to Philadelphia. One of them accidentally met a settler, who was his first cousin, who asked him what induced him to come to America to injure his own flesh and blood. The prisoner answered that he was dragged out of bed from his wife and children, and forced into the service. Others, when asked why they attacked the Americans on Long Island so violently, and treated the wounded with such barbarity, answered that the English officers had made them believe that the Americans were savages and cannibals, particularly those with fringe on their dress, who were especially to be put out of the way as fast as possible, if they were not desirous of being tortured and eaten whilst living. This was a stratagem of war, for these American sharpshooters, who used cut rifles, have a peculiar style of dress similar to that of the Indians. They are mostly native-born, of English or German descent; and in this way the Hessians were set on their own people, for the cunning Englishman would rather fill the ditches of a fortified line with purchased foreign fascines than with their own domineering bodies." [Journal of Rev. Henry M. Muhlenberg, D. D., for 1776 and 1777. Published 1853 in Collections of Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Vol. I, pages 152, 153.] The word *domineering* here expresses a great deal in the British character, however much it may seem to have relaxed against us.

To confirm Mr. Muhlenberg's statement that many in Morgan's corps were Pennsylvania Germans there is no doubt, as was also the case of his son Peter Muhlenberg's 8th Virginia regiment. Both had been chiefly raised in the Shen-

andoah valley, so extensively settled by them within the twenty years preceding the war. It is also probable that Morgan himself was born and grew almost to manhood in either Bucks or Montgomery counties. For the surname is common from an early period in Providence, Hatfield and Towamencin. In the latter township, Daniel Morgan was assessed for 200 acres in 1734, and may have been the ancestor of the subsequent hero of the Cowpens.

That the British in this movement had been well posted by Tories familiar with the vicinity is evidenced in the following abstracts from Captain Stedman's "History of the American War" (London, 1794, 1. pp. 305-7), and who was in the two days' engagements: "General Washington, after receiving a reënforcement of 4000 men from the northern army, left his strong position at Skippack creek, drew nearer the British lines and encamped at Whitemarsh, an advantageous station, about 14 miles from Philadelphia. A valley and a rivulet were in his front; and to the south and east an abatis of trees, their top branches pointed and lying outwards. Sir William Howe hoped that, in consequence, Washington might be tempted to risk an engagement in the view of regaining possession of the capital of Pennsylvania. With this expectation he marched with the army from Philadelphia on the 4th of December, at night, in the following morning took post on Chestnut Hill, in front of the right wing of the provincial encampment. Here the army remained for two days offering battle, but they continued within their lines, except a corps of about 1000 men, which being sent out to skirmish with the light infantry, under Lt. Col. Abercrombie, who were posted in front, was quickly repulsed." After mentioning the engagement on Edge Hill, he adds: "During all this time Washington remained quiet within his lines, and Sir William Howe, seeing no prospect of being able to provoke him to an attack, and after having viewed the right, left and centre of his encampment, judged it unadvisable to attack him in his present strong position, returned on the 8th with the army to Philadelphia. It was generally expected that the commander-in-chief would have made some further attempts on General

Washington. It is true he made some movements on the enemy's front, right and left, but none on the rear, where they were vulnerable without difficulty. By the same movement he would have cut off Washington from his baggage and provisions, which lay some five miles distant. Our troops, notwithstanding, retired, to the surprise of all who were acquainted with the ground on which Washington was encamped, and the variety of excellent roads that led to his rear." What a cowardly admission is herein evidenced by one of their own officers?

The brief narrative of Mr. Greene in this connection possesses unusual interest, and tends to give some additional light on what has been heretofore obscure. He corroborates the traditions of the neighborhood, that it was the plundering of the people by the British army, and to check which Washington ordered Morgan and Gist's troops, supported by General Potter's Pennsylvania militia and Webb's regiment to advance, and if necessary to attack them. He says that they "reached the field of battle on the 7th, in the afternoon," no doubt sent on as a reënforcement, and which terminated according to Washington, near sunset. Simcoe mentions that his corps started on the following afternoon in silence, accompanied by cannon, for the city. Greene and Waldo both mention the nights as extremely cold, from which the British must have also materially suffered.

As the front of the American line is stated to have extended three miles along Camp Hill, its eastern end must have been a short distance beyond the Susquehanna street road, where its elevation slightly descends. Hence, there is reason to believe that it was chiefly by that road that the American detachments were sent from the camp to check the ravages of the British, and this resulted in the principal encounter taking place on Edge Hill, about half way between that highway and Tyson's Gap, on the Jenkintown road, thus making the present property of Xanthus Smith about its centre. But in the Americans falling back towards the former road the fight was kept up until they got pretty near the same, when both parties

appear to have relinquished the contest for the day to return to their respective camps.

The conflict on the afternoon of the 8th, from what has been gleaned from a variety of sources, took place within less than a mile southeast of the present village of Edge Hill. That the Americans for their numbers should have got around so far to the rear of the enemy and there attacked them, exhibited remarkable courage. What loss of life occurred here on this occasion we have been unable to ascertain, being so much confused from the want of dates with the former day's engagement, occurring to the southwest, a mile and a half away. At this time the British camp extended from about the extreme west corner of Cheltenham township northeastwards to the Abington line. The Tacony creek in all of that distance lay immediately in front, furnishing their chief water supply. This location towards the summit of the hill gave them a southern exposure, thus somewhat mitigating the severity of the weather. The last attack occurred near the main body of their camp, the Americans again withdrawing unpursued through the woods with small loss. Likely fearing a renewal thereof, and thus be the more liable to be harassed in retreating to the city, it was no wonder that in consequence they now hurriedly and silently commenced doing so, when the Americans could not have retired over an hour or two.

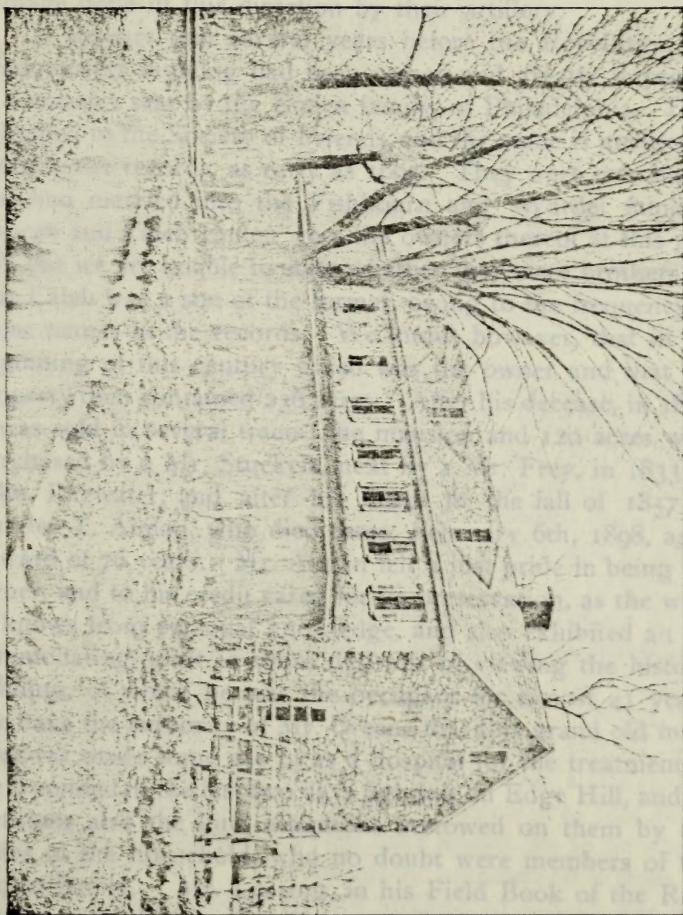
Though so long past, the result of the conflict is still apparent in the finding of relics, as cannon balls, bayonets, gun-flints and musket and rifle bullets. These, as far as ascertained, have been chiefly obtained at Tyson's Gap, near Weldon, across the valley on the west side of Susquehanna street road, to the north of Fitzwatertown, along the south slope of Camp Hill, and on the summit and north slope of Edge Hill, and no doubt in the vicinity of Waverly Heights, where the last encounter took place, but where for some time the country has become greatly cleared of its timber. The cannon balls possessed by the writer were found near the vicinity of Tyson's Gap, and weigh from 2½ to 6 pounds. They were fired across the valley by the Americans from Camp Hill, about 1½ miles distant. The flints and bullets are of unusual

size, denoting that the muskets and rifles at this date must have been of some weight to carry and that the charge required would do execution at a considerable distance.

Mary Smith, the artist, the talented young daughter of the late Russel Smith, in the spring of 1861, in digging up moss in the woods, about 90 yards northwest from her father's residence, struck on a hard substance, which on being brought forth proved to be a bayonet over 21 inches in length, with an extremely sharp point. It had been left thrust perpendicularly into the ground on what appeared to be a mound elevated a few feet above the adjoining surface, where it is likely some of the dead may have been buried. Cannon balls were also found on the late Elias Kirk's farm, now the property of the Hillside Cemetery Company. At his sale, about ten years ago, strange to say these were purchased by a dealer in old iron and taken to the city. When the writer received this information a few years later he sought at once the dealer, who informed him that he had sold them to a foundry. He was not aware that they possessed a Revolutionary interest; yet Mr. Kirk was a descendant of a family that dated back in the vicinity over half a century before the battle.

The large two-story stone building used and occupied by Washington as his headquarters for seven weeks, is still standing in a pretty good state of preservation. It is 80 feet in length by 27 in width, and had a hipped roof, which was modernized in 1854. The writer was here several years before any alterations had been made, and could still see some traces of its former elegance. Through the centre from the main entrance is a hall 15 feet wide, with doors leading to the rooms on either side, which had been occupied by the commander-in-chief. The front from the south is approached by a flight of four ancient-looking, but well-finished steps, wrought from soap stone, that for the date of its erection may be regarded of some size. The front contains 14 large windows, excluding those on the roof, and its west end 7, with an oval one near the apex. It stands near the foot of the hill, and is about one-eighth of a mile from the summit, being situate in Upper Dublin township, but a few yards east of the Whitmarsh and Springfield

lines. Its position was certainly an exposed one had the British made an assault. Besides, it was only two miles in a direct line across the valley to where is now Edge Hill village, in the vicinity of which a considerable portion of the British army was encamped. However, we have not ascertained any



GEORGE EMLE'S HOUSE, UPPER DUBLIN.

(Washington's Headquarters)

From a Photograph by William H. Richardson

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It appears that several years before the Revolution the headquarters building had been owned and greatly improved as a country seat by the Emlen family, of Philadelphia. They belonged to the Society of Friends, and the name is mentioned there in the records, as early as 1695. They were merchants, and had married into the Fishbourn and Warder families. George and Caleb Emlen were the owners thereof at this period, but we are unable to state whether they were brothers, or that Caleb was a son of the former, owing to the frequency of those names in the records. We know, however, that in the beginning of this century Caleb was the owner and that the property then contained 236 acres. After his decease, in 1810, it was sold in several tracts; the mansion and 120 acres were purchased by a Mr. Stuckert, next by a Mr. Frey, in 1833 by John Fitzwater, and after his death in the fall of 1857 by Charles T. Aiman, who died there, February 6th, 1898, aged upward of 76 years. Mr. Aiman felt a just pride in being the owner, and to his credit cared for its preservation, as the writer knows from personal knowledge, and also exhibited an accommodating spirit to those desirous of viewing the historic building, of which he was the occupant for almost 41 years. We have the authority of Mr. Greene that this grand old mansion was made some use of as a hospital for the treatment of the wounded in the last two days fighting on Edge Hill, and he mentions also the kind attentions bestowed on them by the ladies of the household, who no doubt were members of the Emlen family. Mr. Lossing, in his Field Book of the Revolution, published in 1852, is in error in stating that a Mr. Elmer was then the proprietor, which has since been widely reprinted.

Dr. Waldo states on December 9th, the soldiers came from out their breastworks, where they had been confined for

four tedious days, sleeping at nights in their clothes and boots. In this we perceive the extreme vigilance that Washington exercised here in case of any sudden assault from the enemy in full force. The Doctor further adds that they now again occupied their former huts on the east side of that defence, but that the larger portion had theirs within the intrenchments. As a strong position this hill was well selected, being surrounded on all sides by streams of water, except only at its eastern extremity, where the breastworks had been constructed. Those in addition to their defence, furnished them with an abundance of rapidly flowing water, and from almost every point were at no inconvenient distance. Miss Sallie Wister, in her Journal, under date of December 30th, 1778, in company with a friend, ascended this hill, and mentions that "traces of the army having encamped here were quite visible; as rude huts, inferior chimneys, and other ruinous objects plainly denoted their presence."

. From the increasing severity of the weather and the great need of shoes, clothing, blankets and shelter, Washington concluded to leave Camp Hill and its vicinity, and go into more comfortable winter quarters on the west side of the Schuylkill. In consequence on December 9th he issued the following order: "To-morrow at 9 o'clock all of the sick in camp and at private houses about the country are to go to the hospitals. Owing to the scarcity of wagons the surgeons are to return none for the purpose that are able to march, when their packs are to be carried for them. Otherwise, some of them will be liable to be left in camp. Each officer commanding a brigade is to make return to-morrow at orderly time of their killed, wounded and missing since General Howe's late march from Philadelphia, and if any during that time lost to that sense of duty have infamously deserted their names are to be added to the same returns." This important information is from an original document which we are inclined to believe has not been heretofore published. The list has never been made accessible, and if found would show the loss of the Americans here in killed, wounded and missing, which in consequence has as yet been a matter of conjecture.

I copied it in 1878 from the original MS. papers of Gen. Muhlenberg, then in the famous Gilpin collection of Baltimore. This collection has since been scattered, and I do not know where the papers now are. I do not think this letter has ever been published.

On December 10th, Dr. Waldo further informs us, the soldiers were permitted to rest themselves, owing to their late arduous services. At four o'clock of the following morning the whole army was ordered to march to Swedes' Ford, but did not all cross over the Schuylkill until on the afternoon of the 13th; and by the 19th ultimately entered into more permanent quarters at Valley Forge.

One hundred and twenty years have passed away since the battle. The writer in connection with his subject has been impressed at the rapid flight of time. He removed to this vicinity in the spring of 1842, when this occurrence had transpired only sixty-five years. He formed the personal acquaintance of persons who had lived all their days around here, who were familiar with this ground years before, who beheld some of the soldiers that were wounded and witnessed their sufferings, and one of whom was in the fight. A grandparent saw the ruins of the buildings that the British left behind them in this march. Over half a century ago, I went over the place of conflict and the camp, and gathered trophies that had been hurled with destructive intent by the contending forces. This, it is gratifying to say, has all passed away. Those venerable men whose names I have mentioned are also gone, and the chronicler must soon follow them. Well do I remember in securing those relics that the arbutis and azalea bloomed as fragrant, and the wood robin and the brown thrush sang as sweetly and appeared as gentle and undisturbed, as if never carnage had been there, or lives sacrificed in the sacred cause of freedom.

[Read before the Historical Society, at Fort Washington, September 23, 1897.]

at a good old age at the very time when Lafayette was making his tour throughout the United States.

EARLY LIFE.

Charles Thomson was born in Northern County Derry, Ireland, November 14, 1748. He was a very young, and

PATRIOT AND SCHOLAR.

sons to America, and was cast into the ocean near the capes of the Delaware. The expiring prayer of the father was, "God bless my son."

BY LEWIS R. HARLEY, A. M., PH. D.

Referring to the occasion, he once said, "I stood by the bedside of my expiring and much-loved father, closed his eyes, and performed the last filial duties to him."

INTRODUCTION.

While the historian has done ample justice to the memory of the "Fathers of the Republic," the patriotic services of Charles Thomson have been but slightly treated by even the most impartial writers. In every critical epoch of history there are two forces at work—the one attracting the admiration of the country by superior statesmanship and thrilling deeds of valor on the battle-field; the other a steady influence guiding the destinies of the state in the hour of peril. Charles Thomson is a representative of this latter force. To the hero-worshipper, the Secretary of the Continental Congress might not prove a very inspiring subject. At the first casual glance, the clerk at his desk noting down the transactions of the Congress of the colonies is too ordinary a personage to crowd himself upon the attention of historians, but this was only a small part of Thomson's services in our early political history. A finished scholar, he brought good judgment into public life; an ardent patriot, he labored incessantly to strengthen the sentiment for independence in Pennsylvania; a skillful organizer, he aided powerfully to hold together the discordant factions of the Continental Congress; in the retirement of private life, he made a valuable contribution to biblical literature; of a vigorous constitution, he lived to see the struggling colonies become a powerful republic, and died

at a good old age at the very time when Lafayette was making his tour throughout the United States.

EARLY LIFE.

Charles Thomson was born in Maghera, County Derry, Ireland, November 29, 1729. He lost his mother while very young, and in 1739 the father determined to bring his three sons to America. Thomson's father took sick on the voyage, and dying within sight of the shore was cast into the ocean near the capes of the Delaware. The expiring prayer of the father was, "God take them up." The death scene was always very affecting to Thomson. Referring to the occasion, he once said, "I stood by the bedside of my expiring and much-loved father, closed his eyes and performed the last filial duties to him." His father had some property, but the ship captain made out his own tale respecting it, and the boys were landed at New Castle with poor prospects for the future. On arriving at New Castle, the captain placed Charles in the family of a blacksmith. One night he overheard the blacksmith relate to his wife how much he was pleased with the young man, at the same time expressing his intention to have him indented as an apprentice.* But young Thomson had higher ambitions, and he determined to escape. He departed in the night with his small bundle of clothing, and took the road to Wilmington. At daybreak he was stopped by a woman, who inquired where he was traveling so early. Thomson truthfully told her of his escape and his friendless condition. The woman asked him what he thought he could do for a livelihood, whereupon he replied that if he had an education, he thought he could make himself useful to the world. The woman at once became his friend, and introduced him to one of the best schools in the country, presided over by Dr. Francis Alison, from Ireland. According to Watson and Henry Simpson this school was at Thunder Hill, Maryland; but Dr. Sprague, in his "Annals of the American Pulpit," locates it

*"He went to the forge and made a nail so well himself, after once seeing it done, that they augured favorably of his future ingenuity."—*Watson's Annals of Philadelphia*.

at New London, Chester County, Pennsylvania. Dr. Alison never lived in Maryland, but he did reside at New London from 1737 to 1752, when he came to Philadelphia to take charge of the Philadelphia Academy; while in 1755 he became Vice Provost of the College of Philadelphia; which position he held until his death in 1779. According to the best authorities, Dr. Alison founded the academy at New London in 1741. Here were educated Charles Thomson, John Dickinson, Ebenezer Hazard, Dr. John Ewing, David Ramsay, Governor McKean, James Smith and George Read. Dr. Alison instructed at least four governors, eight congressmen and four signers of the Declaration of Independence. The President of Yale College declared him "the greatest classical scholar in America, especially in Greek." While a student at this academy, Thomson frequently gave manifestations of his ardent zeal for knowledge. On one occasion he got hold of some loose leaves of the "Spectator," and admiring its style, he so longed to possess the whole work that he walked all night to Philadelphia, and returned in time to be present in his classes. He was charmed with the study of Greek, and he actually walked to Amboy and back again to visit a British officer there, who had the reputation of being a fine Greek scholar. While a student, he introduced himself to Dr. Franklin, stating his youth and need of advice. A warm friendship at once sprang up which lasted during Franklin's life. Thomson's elder brother, who had settled in America before the father and sons came, gave him substantial aid while at school, for which he in later life bought a farm in Delaware and presented it to that brother.*

Lossing states that on leaving the academy Thomson taught for a while in a Friends' school at New Castle. He

*A story was published in England saying that Eleanor Charnock, in needy circumstances in Dublin in 1784, was Charles Thomson's sister. He answered this saying it was false, and added: "I have no relatives in Great Britain. It is more than forty years ago that I stood by the bedside of my expiring and much-beloved father, closed his eyes, and performed the last filial duties to him in America." William Thomson, a soldier, is said, in some Irish biographies, to have been the brother of Charles Thomson, born in Ireland about 1726, and about fourteen years old when he arrived in this country. He went to South Carolina early in life, and displayed great bravery in the Revolution. He died in 1786. There is no reliable evidence that he was Charles Thomson's brother.

was soon regarded as one of the best Greek scholars in the vicinity of Philadelphia, and for this reason he was invited by Dr. Franklin to become a teacher in the Philadelphia Academy. At the time that he taught in the Academy he lodged with David J. Dove, and, to show his habitual caution, he got a certificate of good character from Dove and his wife before leaving their house. Wood's Early History of the University of Pennsylvania says: "It is worthy of observation that among the teachers originally employed in the Academy was Charles Thomson, who afterwards rendered conspicuous services in the office of Secretary of the Revolutionary Congress, and venerable in the recollection of Philadelphians by his virtues and abilities. He was for four years one of the tutors in the Latin School and left it in the pursuit of other business." The other business here referred to evidently means the iron industry. For a number of years preceding the Revolution Thomson was actively engaged in iron works, as the receipts and letters among his papers will show.

As early as 1755 Thomson became a man of great influence throughout the province of Pennsylvania, and he began to display that character which he maintained throughout his life, so that according to Dr. Ashbel Green it was a popular mode of asseverating the truth of anything to say, "It is as true as if Charles Thomson's name were to it." In 1756 Thomson's veracity was publicly recognized by the Society of Friends. A treaty was about to be consummated with the Delaware tribe of Indians at Easton,* and the Friends invited Thomson to be present and take the minutes for them in shorthand. The official secretary of the Governor was Rev. M. Peters, but his minutes were so often disputed by the Indian chief, Tadyuscung,† that Thomson's minutes were

*"Easton was a favorite place for holding councils with the Indian chiefs between the years 1754 and 1761, while the French were endeavoring to seduce the tribes on the Susquehanna and the Ohio from their allegiance to the English. It was not uncommon to see from two hundred to five hundred Indians present on these occasions, and many of the dignitaries of the province and of other colonies."
—*Day's Historical Collections of Pennsylvania.*

†"A Delaware chief settled at Wyoming in 1758, at the public expense, intending thereby to place him and his people as a frontier defence. They sent on a force of fifty men, as carpenters, masons and laborers, who erected ten or twelve

called for, and they were regarded so true by the Indians that they solemnly adopted him into their tribe and gave him the name "Wegh-wu-law-mo-end," "the man who tells the truth." In all the factional disputes of the Revolutionary Congress, his judgment was respected, and when a congressional paper appeared sanctioned by his name it was the custom to forget his official character and say, "There comes the Truth."

"THE SAM ADAMS OF PHILADELPHIA."

But Thomson was soon destined to play a more important part in our history. On coming to Philadelphia he joined a club modeled after that of the famous Junta to which Franklin had belonged—where they used to discuss political questions and were constantly on the alert to render service to their fellow-citizens. The policy of taxation that Great Britain pursued at once brought Thomson into the arena of politics. On May 30th it was announced that John Hughes, a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly and a partisan of Franklin's, was appointed distributor of stamps. This caused great ill-feeling. He was burned in effigy, and on October 5th a crowd surrounded his house as he was lying sick in bed, and obtained a written pledge not to attempt to perform the functions of his new office. The committee who waited on Hughes to demand his resignation comprised James Tilghman, Robert Morris, Archibald McCall, John Cox, William Richards, William Bradford and Charles Thomson. The passage of the Stamp Act brought together in New York, October 7, 1765, the Congress that bears its name, consisting of twenty-eight members from nine colonies. Thomson's integrity and intelligence were recognized by making him Secretary. This Congress adopted an address to the King, a petition to the House of Commons and a declaration of rights, thus forming a vigorous statement of the American claims and a strong protest against the course of the home govern-

houses, of fourteen by twenty feet, and one for himself, of sixteen by twenty-four feet. He was an artful, wily chief, of more than common selfishness and intrigue for an Indian, and withal was intemperate and aspiring."—*Watson's Annals of Philadelphia, Vol. II, page 127.*

ment. Thomson's letters give a good account of the indignation prevailing on the passage of the Stamp Act. On November 7, 1765, he wrote to Messrs. Sergeant, Confere & Co., countermanding orders for the shipment of goods, as the merchants in Philadelphia had resolved not to import any goods from Great Britain until the Stamp Act was repealed. He declared that the courts of justice and the offices of government were shut and all credit gone.* But he did not lose hope in the American cause, and when Franklin wrote to him in July, 1765, "We might as well have hindered the sun's setting. That we could not do. But since it is down, my friend, and it may be long before it rises again, let us make as good a night of it as we can. We can still light candles." Thomson answered as follows: "Be assured, the Americans will light lamps of a different sort from those you contemplate."

Thomson now threw his whole soul into the cause of the colonists, and labored with such enthusiasm that he became known as "the Sam Adams of Philadelphia." In the spring of 1774, the British government closed the port of Boston against all commerce until the destroyed tea was paid for and the town returned to loyalty. In June, 1774, the last Assembly under the royal government was held in Massachusetts. It passed resolutions recommending a congress of the different colonies, appointing five deputies, and voting them £500 for their expenses. The Assembly also passed resolutions asserting the rights of the colonies, and denouncing the arbitrary conduct of the Governor. Virginia showed every disposition to assist Massachusetts, and the Assembly set apart the first of June for a public fast.

But while Virginia and Massachusetts were all aglow with the spirit of resistance to British oppression, what was the sentiment in Pennsylvania? Here, as in New York, the General Assembly contained a controlling number of passive friends of the crown, and the colony was in a lukewarm condi-

*"Numbers of the people who are indebted take advantage of the time to refuse payment, and are moving off with all their effects out of the reach of their creditors."—*Thomson's Papers*.

tion. Philadelphia, which was controlled politically by the Friends and the merchants, had grown cool. At the same time it was well understood that without the aid of Philadelphia the province could not be persuaded to fall into the ranks of resistance with Virginia and Massachusetts. Charles Thomson and a few other patriots set to work to revolutionize public opinion in the Pennsylvania capital, and place the city on the Republican side in the contest. Dickinson, Ross, Clymer, McKean, Mifflin and Thomson were the leaders of the Liberty party in Philadelphia, and the efforts that they put forth display a heroism that should receive a fuller recognition in history. These men, led by Thomson, undertook the mission of getting a public meeting for Paul Revere in Philadelphia for the purpose of seconding the resistance made at Boston. Dickinson has been very much criticised for his slowness on this occasion, but the moderate course recommended by him had been predetermined for the express purpose of influencing the Friends, and drawing them and their allies into the struggle, if necessary. Thomson was the prime mover of this plan, although he concealed the fact that he influenced Dickinson. Thomson completely exonerates Dickinson as follows:

"As the Quakers, who were principled against war, saw the storm gathering and therefore wished to keep aloof from danger, were industriously employed to prevent anything being done which might involve Pennsylvania farther in the dispute, and as it was apparent that for this purpose their whole force would be collected at the ensuing meeting, it was necessary to devise means so to counteract their designs as to carry the measure proposed, and yet prevent a disunion, and thus, if possible, bring Pennsylvania with its whole force undivided to make common cause with Boston. The line of conduct Mr. Dickinson had lately pursued opened a prospect to this."

Paul Revere arrived in Philadelphia, May 19, 1774, and the meeting was held the next day in the rooms of the City Tavern, on the west side of Second street, just above Walnut. At this meeting Dickinson took a conservative position, according to the plan agreed upon. Reed was the first speaker, and he was followed by Mifflin in an impassioned speech.

Then Thomson spoke and strongly urged immediate action in favor of Boston. He became vehement in his language, and, having had no sleep for several nights, he fainted and was carried from the room. Dickinson then made a moderate address, but no action was taken, the meeting adjourning in an uproar. The next day, May 21st, some of the committee again met at the tavern. A letter from Provost Smith, of the College of Philadelphia, was read, and resolutions were adopted recommending a general congress of all the colonies. Paul Revere then returned to Boston, armed with the letter and resolutions. The next step taken was to call a town meeting, which was held June 18, 1774.* At this meeting Provost Smith, Reed and Thomson made speeches. Resolutions were adopted making common cause with Boston and denouncing the measures which had closed her port. The Governor was asked to convene the Assembly, and a congress of all the colonies was recommended. A Committee of Correspondence was appointed for Philadelphia, and a constant communication was kept up with the local committee in each county. This Committee of Correspondence summoned delegates from all the counties to represent the colony in a general conference, which was held on the 15th of July, 1774, over which Thomas Willing presided and Charles Thomson acted as Secretary. In this conference it was resolved, first of all, that their allegiance was due to George III; that they desired a restoration of harmony with the mother country, and that there was an absolute necessity for a Colonial Congress.† After these meetings, Thomson, Dickinson and several other citizens, under color of taking an excursion for pleasure, made a tour through the frontier counties to learn the sentiments of the inhabitants, chiefly in the German districts.

This meeting in Philadelphia was a very bold one, and one writer claims that it became the precedent for the first Jacobin clubs in Paris. In 1822, Thomas Jefferson, writing

*The resolutions adopted at this meeting are given in full in Niles' *Principles and Acts of the Revolution*, page 203.

†For the Address to the Assembly of the People adopted at this meeting, see Niles' *Principles and Acts of the Revolution*, page 204.

to Dr. Morse, referred to the Philadelphia meeting as follows: "This perilous engine became necessary to precede the Revolution, but I regard it as a collateral power which no man could wish to see in use again."

At this point, proper emphasis should be placed upon the historical value of the paper sent by Thomson to W. H. Drayton, of South Carolina. Thomson prepared a paper for Drayton in aid of his collection in American history. Drayton prepared manuscript in two volumes relating to the early part of the Revolution in the southern colonies from 1773 to 1776. After his death, his executor is said to have destroyed the papers. The paper prepared by Thomson not only defends the conduct of John Dickinson, but it also furnishes an interesting chapter in the secret history of revolutionary politics.

SECRETARY OF CONGRESS.

The Congress of 1774, closely following these stirring events, was held at Philadelphia from September 5th to October 26th. In this body Thomson again appears as a prominent figure. John Adams, who was there as a delegate, wrote in his diary, August 30, 1774, the day after his arrival in Philadelphia: "Walked a little about town; visited the Market, the State House, the Carpenters' Hall, where the Congress is to sit, etc; then called at Mr. Mifflin's, a grand, spacious and elegant house. Here we had much conversation with Mr. Charles Thomson, who is, it seems, about marrying a lady, a relative of Mr. Dickinson's, with 5000 pounds sterling"; and added, "this Charles Thomson is the Sam Adams of Philadelphia." Thomson's active services in the cause of liberty naturally led to his selection as Secretary of this Congress. In the official journal of Congress we find this record:

"Monday, September 5, 1774.

"The Congress proceeded to the choice of a President, when the Hon. Peyton Randolph was unanimously elected.*

*Peyton Randolph, first President of Congress, died in October, 1775, at the seat of Henry Hill, Roxborough, where he had accepted an invitation to dine with other company. He fell from his seat in an apoplectic fit and at once expired.

"Mr. Charles Thomson was unanimously chosen Secretary."

The first Congress adjourned October 26, 1774, and the second convened:

"Wednesday, May 10, 1775.

"Upon motion, the Hon. Peyton Randolph was unanimously chosen President.

"After the President was seated, Mr. Charles Thomson was unanimously chosen Secretary."

And so for fifteen years Thomson was retained as Secretary of the Continental Congress, in some respects one of the most remarkable legislative bodies the world has ever seen. In this position he beheld the national consciousness slowly develop; it became his happy duty to read the Declaration of Independence to that body in 1776; later on he saw the Congress sadly deteriorate in quality, and finally expire from want of a majority in October, 1788. He not only gave freely of his time for the cause of independence, but he also subscribed of his means. At a critical period of the war, when there was great danger of the dissolution of the American army from want of provisions to keep it together, Thomson was one of a number of patriotic gentlemen who gave their bonds to the amount of \$1,300,000 for procuring them. Thomson's subscription was \$15,000. The provisions were obtained, and independence was achieved. The amount of the bonds was never called for, but it is well to keep in remembrance the names of those who in the times that tried men's souls stepped forward and pledged their all to the cause of liberty. The manner of his employment as Secretary of the Congress is interesting. He had wed Miss Harrison on Thursday, September 1st, and coming to Philadelphia in his carriage with his wife the following Monday, he had just alighted when a message came to him from the President of Congress that he must see him immediately. Thomson went, not conceiving what it could be for, and was told that they wished him to take their minutes. He set to it as for a temporary affair, but the service continued throughout the Revolutionary period.*

*"Congress first sat in the building then called Carpenter's Hall, up the court of that name in Chestnut street. On the morning of the day that they first con-

As no compensation was received for the first service, Congress presented him with a silver urn, inscribed as their gift, and as a compliment to his lady for having so unexpectedly deprived her of the attentions of her husband. Mrs. Thomson was consulted to learn what the present should be, and she chose an urn.

It will be impossible, within the scope of this paper, to sketch in detail the long career of Thomson as Secretary of the Continental Congress. He knew more than any other man the secret history of that Congress and the motives which swayed its members. The cause of the colonists was often threatened by sectional jealousies and the violence of faction. Treason also occasionally lurked in high places, but Thomson was judicious in all his actions, and he carefully guarded the important state secrets and measures. He often referred to the firmness and patriotism of his wife during this period. She never complained of any inconvenience resulting from their situation in consequence of the war; but did everything in her power to lighten difficulties and assist him. His business was too confidential to be intrusted to a secretary or clerk, so she aided him with her pen, and the archives of the Revolution contain much of her copying. He also performed much of the work respecting the secret machinery of government, which is now more properly the business of the Secretary of State. On this account we find John Jay, when Minister to Madrid, writing to him in 1781: "I wish in my heart you were also Secretary of Foreign Affairs. I should then have better sources of information." Thomson often related

vened, their future secretary, the now venerable Charles Thomson, who resided at that time in the Northern Liberties, and who afterwards so materially assisted to launch our first-rate republic, had that morning rode into the city, and alighted in Chestnut street. He was immediately accosted by a message from Congress, that they desired to speak with him. He followed the messenger, and, entering the building, has described himself as struck with awe upon viewing the aspects of so many great and good men, impressed with the weight and responsibility of their situation, on the perilous edge of which they were then advancing. He walked up the aisle, and, bowing to the president, desired to know their pleasure. 'Congress requests your services, sir, as their secretary.' He took his seat at the desk, and never looked back until the vessel was securely anchored in the haven of independence."—*Revolutionary Reminiscences of Philadelphia* in "Niles' Principles and Acts of the Revolution."

that he was under very great obligations to Mrs. Wright, the celebrated modeler in wax, for the important information which she found means to transmit to him from time to time. She was wonderfully correct in her intelligence, often warning them of danger, and sometimes leading them to acquisitions, as in the case of the military store ships captured upon her information. He had an understanding with Rivington, the King's printer at New York, and the latter corresponded with him in a secret and artful manner. It was Rivington who furnished him an intimation of an intention to poison General Washington while he was quartered on the North river. Thomson was himself poisoned in the foot while there, and he owed his recovery to the excellence of his constitution.

We can scarcely picture the hopes and fears of an ardent patriot like Thomson, as he witnessed in his official position the struggles of the Revolutionary government to solve the grave problems of politics. There was much cause for fear. The colonists were naturally litigious, and resisted the efforts of the government to raise taxes. In April, 1779, a paper dollar was worth five cents, and in many respects this year marked the lowest ebb in politics and morals, as well as in finance, which was reached during the war. Robert Morris truly said: "We are disputing about liberties, posts and places at the very time we ought to have nothing in view but the securing of those objects and placing them on such a footing as to make them worth contending for among ourselves hereafter. But instead of this, the vigor of this and several other states is lost in intestine divisions; and unless the spirit of contention is checked by some other means, I fear it will have a baneful influence on the measures of America." As early as February, 1778, Congress was reduced in number to about one-half of what it was when independence was declared. All but a few of the men of superior minds had disappeared from it. Their measures were feeble and wavering, and the party feuds seemed to forebode some threatening calamity. Washington deplored the fact that the states did not send able men to Congress, and in March, 1779, he wrote: "Friends and foes seem now to combine to pull down the

goodly fabric we have been raising at the expense of so much time, blood and treasure." Franklin tried again and again to get his own accounts with the government audited, but his efforts never met with any response from Congress, and when he died the United States was his debtor. It is no wonder that he hinted to Thomson, in 1788, that republics are apt to be ungrateful. Through all these vicissitudes Thomson never lost hope. In 1784 he wrote from Annapolis to Franklin that it was no wonder that the states were backward, as everything was new and unusual. He expressed great confidence in the good sense of his countrymen, and said: "Though you and I have lived to see a great work accomplished, yet much remains to be done to secure the happiness of this country."

During all these years of service Thomson's relations with the members of Congress were of the most agreeable character. There was but one occasion when any difference existed. In 1779 Henry Laurens made a lengthy charge that when he was President of Congress Thomson's behavior toward him was an unprovoked repetition of insults. Laurens charged that he refused to send him copies of certain resolutions; that he refused to rewrite in a legible hand the commission of John Adams to the Court of Versailles, and that he intrusted the public records in the hands of strangers. To all these charges Thomson made a satisfactory reply, completely vindicating himself. The manner of Mr. Laurens was authoritative, and he betrayed this in his intercourse with Thomson, thus challenging the latter's sensitive dignity to resent the affront. In the case of Mr. Laurens, Congress failed to vote the thanks it was wont to tender upon the retirement of a President. The feud between the two patriots did not long continue, as Thomson wrote to Laurens, on June 17, 1784, warmly congratulating him on the recovery of his health.

CLOSE OF HIS POLITICAL CAREER.

Thomson's political career drew to a close with the death of the old Continental Congress. He served as Secretary of the House of Representatives of the new Congress, but resigned in July, 1789, and turned the books, records and pa-

pers over to Roger Alden. He was honored with the duty of informing Washington of his election as President of the United States, and he set out for Mount Vernon on the eleventh of April, 1789. He reached his destination April 14, 1789, and communicated the purport of his mission in the following words:

"Sir, the President of the Senate, chosen for the special purpose, having opened and counted the votes of the electors in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, I was honored with the commands of the Senate to wait upon your Excellency with the information of your being elected to the office of President of the United States of America. This commission was intrusted to me on account of my having been long in the confidence of the late Congress, and charged with the duties of one of the principal civil departments of the government. I have now, sir, to inform you that the proofs you have given of your patriotism and of your readiness to sacrifice domestic ease and private enjoyments to preserve the happiness of your country did not permit the two Houses to harbor a doubt of your undertaking this great and important office, to which you are called, not only by the unanimous vote of the electors, but by the voice of America.

"I have it, therefore, in command to accompany you to New York, where the Senate and House of Representatives are convened for the dispatch of public business."

To which Washington replied as follows: "I wish that there may not be reason for regretting the choice—for, indeed, all I can promise is to accomplish that which can be done by honest zeal." He at once set out for New York with Thomson and Colonel Humphreys. This was one of Thomson's last public official acts. On his resignation from office Washington expressed his feelings of regret in the following letter:

"The present age does so much justice to the unsullied reputation with which you have always conducted yourself in the execution of the duties of your office, and posterity will find your name so honorably connected with the unification of such a multitude of astonishing facts that my single suffrage would add little to the illustration of your merits. Yet I cannot withhold any just testimonial in favor of so old, so faithful and so able a public officer, which might tend to soothe

his mind in the shades of retirement. Accept, then, this serious declaration that your services have been important, as your patriotism was distinguished; and enjoy that best of all rewards, the consciousness of having done your duty well."

Thomson at once replied to this letter in the following beautiful language:

"Sir, I cannot find words to express the feelings of my heart on the receipt of your favor of yesterday; from the love and veneration I have, and have continually felt for you, and the light in which I have always viewed you as raised up by Providence to be the saviour and father of your country, I freely confess I should have been highly gratified in devoting myself to the public service under your administration. But by attentively observing and weighing circumstances and occurrences, it appeared to me to be the will of God that I should return to private life. Under this impression, though I wish not merely to submit, but to submit with cheerfulness, I own I felt an uneasiness at the circumstance you mention, and which you were pleased to say you have to regret that the period of your coming again into public life should be exactly that in which I am to retire from it. But, sir, you know it is not from any unwillingness to serve under you.

"I thank you for the testimonial you have given in my favor, and shall ever prize it next to the consciousness of having done my duty to my country to the utmost of my knowledge and abilities."

No inducement could persuade Thomson to again enter public life. In 1793 Washington wrote urging him to consent to become a commissioner to treat with the Indians at Sandusky. In urging him to accept, Washington said:

"It is necessary that characters be appointed who are known to our citizens for their talent and integrity, and whose situation in life places them clear of suspicion of a wish to prolong the war, and whose interest in common with that of their country is clearly to produce peace. Characters inviting these desiderata do not abound, and, in fact, many circumstances circumscribe their choice within a small circle."

LIFE AT HARRITON.

I have thus far made but slight reference to Thomson's domestic life. He was twice married; his first wife being the daughter of James Mather, of a reputable family who lived in Chester. She was a very amiable woman, but soon was

taken from him by death. By her he had two children, twins, who died in infancy. The fact of his marriage to Miss Harrison, in 1774, has been mentioned. His residence while in Philadelphia was at the corner of Spruce and Fourth streets, and also for a time in the Northern Liberties, while in 1789 he removed to Harriton, in Lower Merion, Montgomery county, the large estate inherited by his wife. Thomson must have had considerable wealth of his own. As early as 1760 he subscribed liberally for the paving of Second street, between Market and Race, it being the first regularly paved street in the city. This street used to be very muddy, and one of the Whartons, getting mired there, between Chestnut and High streets, was thrown from his horse and broke his leg. On the establishment of the Pennsylvania Bank, in 1780, Thomson subscribed \$15,000. I have seen his manuscript account book, and his receipts for rents alone in one year amounted to \$800. It appears that his attorney in his financial affairs was Abraham Shoemaker, Jr.

The Harriton Mansion, near Bryn Mawr, was built in 1704, by Rowland Ellis, an early Welsh settler and a preacher among the Friends. In 1719 Ellis sold the plantation of about 700 acres, on which the house stands, to Richard Harrison, a Friend, of Annapolis, who had married Hannah Norris, daughter of Isaac Norris, and great-granddaughter of Governor Thomas Lloyd. She was a minister of some note with the Society of Friends, and, becoming dissatisfied with her residence in Maryland, her husband was induced to buy the property, to which he removed with his family and a considerable number of slaves, and thereafter the estate was known as Harriton. On the death of Mrs. Richard Harrison, the title to Harriton was settled upon Hannah Harrison, who married Charles Thomson.*

LITERARY PURSUITS.

In peaceful retirement at Harriton the last and most interesting chapter of Thomson's life begins. It was a period

*As the estate at Harriton is fully described in the paper by Samuel Gordon Smyth, published in Volume I of the Historical Society's collections, I have made but slight reference to it.

of literary activity and scholarly pursuits. As early as 1783, John Jay had urged him to write a history of the Revolution, saying: "When I consider that no person in the world is so perfectly acquainted with the rise, conduct and conclusion of the American Revolution as yourself, I cannot but wish that you would devote one hour a day to giving posterity a true account of it." David Ramsay, in 1809, confirmed this idea, and urged him to write the history, remarking at the time: "I suppose that your modesty has restrained you from doing justice to yourself in many services you have rendered the memorable cause of American liberty. It will give me pleasure to let the world know how much they are indebted to the Secretary of the old Congress." After Thomson first went to dwell at Harriton, he actually gathered many curious and valuable papers for the purpose of writing the history. But after completing many pages, he at length resolved to destroy the whole, alleging as his reason that he was unwilling to blur the reputation of many families then rising into credit and esteem, whose ancestors must have had a bad reputation in his contemplated book. Long before this, in 1759, his interest in the Indians prompted him to write a book entitled "An Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians from the British Interests, and into the Measures Taken for Recovering their Friendship." It will be remembered that from his academy days Thomson was an accomplished Greek scholar. His first passion for Greek literature was induced by an accident. On a certain occasion, while a student, he passed an auction store and heard the crier proclaiming the sale of an "unknown outlandish book." He bid a trifle for it and got it. It proved to be a part of the Greek Septuagint. When he had mastered it enough to understand it, his anxiety was extreme to see the whole; but he could find no copy until, strange to tell, in the interval of two years, passing the same store and looking in, he actually saw the remainder selling off, when he joyfully bought it at a few pence. Thomson was destined to make the first translation of the Septuagint in the English language. The Hebrew Scriptures, which had been rendered into Greek by the seven-

ty-two scholars in the Museum at Alexandria, were translated from the Greek into English by the labors of a single man, at Harriton. This work is a monument to years of earnest study and labor. This work, now in the library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, is a model of system. Judging from Thomson's correspondence at this time, the translation was a labor of love. On January 6, 1801, he wrote to Rev. Samuel Miller, as follows: "It has occupied my closest attention and been my constant study and employment for more than twelve years. Attached to no system nor peculiar tenets of any sect or party, I have sought for truth with the utmost ingenuity, and endeavored to give a just and true representation of the sense and meaning of the Sacred Scriptures; and in doing this, I have further endeavored to convey into the translation, as far as I could, the spirit and manner of the authors, and thereby give it the quality of an original." He also related in this letter how often he rewrote it, "four copies of the whole Bible, and of some books the fifth copy, and am now making a fifth copy of the whole." Speaking of his translation, Thomson wrote to Jefferson, July 24, 1808: "I am truly thankful to that kind Providence which directed my attention to this work. It has kept my mind employed, so that I can say I have not during the last nine years found one hour hang heavy on me." The translation was published in four large volumes, in 1808, by Thomson and Ebenezer Hazard in partnership. The publication did not prove profitable, and Hazard bought the edition, and it was stored in his garret for years. After his death, it was sold for waste paper to Dr. Earles, a bookseller at the corner of Fourth and Chestnut streets, so that nearly the whole edition was destroyed. The work was highly commended by scholars, and Dr. Adam Clarke said it was a literary treasure. Thomson's own copy, with his last manuscript corrections, is in the Philadelphia library.* In 1815, his "Synopsis of the Four Evangelists" appeared. Follow-

*Another set of the work containing a copy of Thomson's manuscript corrections is in the possession of Prof. Albert H. Smyth, of the Central High School, Philadelphia.

ing this came an interesting letter from Jefferson, on January 9, 1815. This letter is important, as in it Jefferson makes a statement of his religious belief, as follows:

"My Dear and Ancient Friend:

"An acquaintance of fifty-two years, for I think ours dates from 1764, calls for an interchange now and then. I am reminded of this duty by the receipt, through our friend, Dr. Patterson, of your 'Synopsis of the Four Evangelists.' I had procured it as soon as I saw it advertised, and had become familiar with it.

"This work bears the stamp of that accuracy which marks everything from you, and will be useful to them who, not taking things on trust, read for themselves to the fountain of pure morals. I too have made a wee little book from the same materials which I call the 'Philosophy of Jesus.' It is a paradigm of his doctrines, made by cutting the texts out of the book and arranging them on pages of a blank book, in a certain order of time or subject. A more beautiful or precious morsel of this I have never seen. It is a document in proof that I am a real Christian, that is to say, a disciple of the doctrines of Jesus, very different from the Platonists who call me infidel and themselves Christians and preachers of the gospel, while they draw all their characteristic dogmas from what its author never said or saw; they have compounded from the heathen mysteries a system beyond the comprehension of man of which the great reformer of the vicious ethics and deism of the Jews, were he to return on the earth, would not recognize one feature."

Thomson also wrote several other works, and left in manuscript "Critical Annotations on Gilbert Wakefield's Works." This passed into the hands of Watson, who, in 1832, presented it to the Massachusetts Historical Society.

The following estimate of the value of Thomson's literary work is found in the "Life of Ashbel Green," by Rev. Joseph H. Jones:

"I had the happiness to be personally acquainted with Charles Thomson. He was tall of stature, well-proportioned and of primitive simplicity of manners. He was one of the best classical scholars that our country has ever produced. The old Congress had several successive presidents, but Mr. Thomson was their secretary from first to last. You have seen in my library a copy of his translation of the whole Bible, from the Septuagint of the Old Testament, and from the orig-

inal of the New. He made three or four transcriptions of this whole work, still endeavoring in each to make improvements on his former labors. After our Revolutionary War was terminated, and before the adoption of the present Constitution of the United States, our country was in a very deplorable state, and many of our surviving patriotic fathers, and Mr. Thomson among the rest, could not easily rid themselves of gloomy apprehensions. Mr. Thomson's resource (and who will say it was not a noble one, and worthy of a vigorous, cultivated and pious mind) was to soothe his painful feelings and await the developments of divine providence in the study of the sacred Scriptures. There was then no translation of the Septuagint into the English language, and he determined to make one; and to this, when accomplished, he added a version of the New Testament, varying very considerably from that in common use—in language, but not in sense. Delighted with his employment, he was reluctant to quit it, and his last work was a Harmony of the Four Gospels in the language of his own version."

INTEREST IN SCIENCE.

Thomson also took a deep interest in science. When the Philosophical Society built an observatory in the State House yard to observe the transit of Venus, June 3, 1769, he was one of the most active of the observers. In 1785 he conducted a correspondence with Jefferson respecting Mesmer's illusive animal magnetism. At this time Lafayette was enthusiastic on the subject. At a meeting of the Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, Lafayette entertained the members on the subject the greater part of the evening. He informed them that he was one of Mesmer's scholars or initiates, and was let into the secret, but was not at liberty to reveal it. He spoke of it as a wonderful and important discovery, which would be of great benefit to mankind, and mentioned his having by means of it performed a surprising cure on his passage. During 1785 and 1786 Thomson and Jefferson conducted a regular correspondence on scientific subjects, discussing the use of steam power, the nature of the Northern Lights and the structure of the earth. Their literary friendship was complete, and when Jefferson wrote his "Notes on

the State of Virginia," Thomson's observations on the subject were added as an appendix.*

Thomson was honored by various learned societies and institutions. He was a member of the American Philosophical Society, and received the degree of LL. D. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1784, and from Princeton in 1822.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

In regard to his personal appearance there are two reliable accounts given. Abbe Claude C. Robin, chaplain in the army of the Comte de Rochambeau, wrote as follows: "Among others, Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress, the soul of that political body, came also to receive and present his compliments. His meagre figure, furrowed countenance, and his hollow, sparkling eyes, his white straight hair, that did not hang quite so low as his ears, fixed our thorough attention and filled us with surprise and admiration." Watson, who often visited Thomson, described him as follows: "He was tall and slender in person, and to his last day stood as erect as a column. He never used glasses, and retained his teeth. He looked younger than his years. He was regular and temperate in his diet. His mind fell into decay even while his body was still vigorous and active." Watson relates that in the spring of 1824 he paid a visit to Harriton and had an opportunity to see the person of Charles Thomson, then in his ninety-fifth year, and to deplore the mental ruins of his venerated friend. He was in full dress, reclining on his sofa, and on Watson's name being announced to him, he could by no means remember him. His appetite and general health seemed quite good, but he had lost all ideas of books and former things, and passed his time in silence unless spoken to. A circumstance occurred at the dinner table. While the grace was being delivered by Rev. Horatio Gates Jones, pastor of the Lower Merion Baptist Church, Thomson, in an elevated

*See Notes on the State of Virginia, written by Thomas Jefferson, illustrated with a map, including the states of Virginia, Maryland, Delaware and Pennsylvania. London: Printed for John Stockdale, 1787.

voice, began to say the Lord's Prayer. He made no remark at the table, and gave no heed to the conversation of others.*

There have been many false statements in regard to Thomson's religious belief. In 1801 he remarked that he was attached to no system nor particular tenets of any sect or party. The records of the First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia show, however, that he was an elder in that body. When the Baptists came into the neighborhood of Harriton, the beginning of this century, Charles McClenachan, the heir of Harriton, gave them a plot of ground at the corner of the Gulf and Roberts roads, for church and burial purposes. In the church erected there Thomson worshipped in the latter years of his life.† In this church George W. Childs erected a memorial window to Thomson.

LAST DAYS AT HARRITON.

Thomson's wife died September 6, 1807. As early as 1798 she had made a final adjustment of her estate, executing with her husband a deed by which, after reserving a life estate for themselves, Harriton was settled upon Charles McClenachan, grandson of her brother, Thomas Harrison.‡ This great-nephew had been a sort of adopted child of Mrs. Thomson, who had no children of her own. Thomson himself died August 16, 1824, and his remains, with those of his wife, were deposited in the Harriton cemetery, about a quarter of a mile southeast of the mansion. This cemetery was established by Richard Harrison soon after his arrival from Maryland, in 1719.§ In after years Thomson's remains were disturbed from their repose in the tomb at Harriton. Early in this cen-

*Watson's Annals of Philadelphia, Vol. I, page 570.

†See Cathcart's Baptist Encyclopædia, article on Rev. Horatio Gates Jones.

‡McClenachan died suddenly in 1811, leaving one child, a daughter named Naomi. It was then discovered that by reason of some defect in the conveyance of Harriton from the Thomsons the question of title was disputed among the heirs, and caused years of litigation, until it was finally settled upon the child Naomi. She married the late Levi Morris, and succeeded to the possession of the estate on the death of Charles Thomson in 1824.

§Many of the Harrison family were buried in this cemetery. Richard Harrison also built a small Friends' meeting-house adjoining, which was destroyed some years ago by a person who temporarily occupied the farm. The cemetery is

ture trouble arose from the fact that certain citizens of Lower Merion desired to get possession of the cemetery for public uses. The Legislature was petitioned, but in vain. Again, in 1833, another attempt was made by interested parties to wrest possession of the cemetery from the owners, and it became necessary to put up trespass notices. In 1838, the promoters of Laurel Hill Cemetery, wishing to have the benefit derived from the possession of a few distinguished bodies buried within their grounds, made proposals to the Harriton heirs for permission to remove the bodies of Charles Thomson and wife to Laurel Hill. This application was refused, but John Thomson, a nephew of Charles, claimed the authority to remove his uncle's remains. The Harriton heirs still refused, and the matter was dropped for a time. But one morning at daybreak a number of resurrectionists were surprised in their work of robbing the cemetery of its dead. An alarm was sounded, but too late. The remains were hurriedly thrust into a wagon and driven off. Some doubt whether among the bodies thus secured was that one of Charles Thomson. A tomb was provided for the remains in one of the fairest spots in Laurel Hill Cemetery, overlooking the Schuylkill. A plain monument sixteen feet high marks the place. At the foot of the monument are two marble slabs, one of them containing the following inscription:

eighty five feet long and forty-six wide, surrounded by a stone wall. In early times it was in full view from the windows of the Harriton mansion, through a vista cut in the wood-land. On the wall may be found the following inscription:

Harriton Family Cemetery, Anno 1719. This stone is opposite the division between two rows of family graves, wherein were interred

RICHARD HARRISON

(Died March 2, 1747)

And a number of his descendants,

Also

CHARLES THOMSON,

Secretary of the Continental Congress,

Died August 16, 1824,

And

HANNAH THOMSON,

Wife of Charles Thomson, daughter of Richard Harrison, granddaughter of Isaac Norris and great-granddaughter of Governor Thomas Lloyd,

Died Sept. 6, 1807.

Erected by John Thomson, of Delaware, to the memory of an
honored uncle and benefactor,

Also

In memory of

HANNAH,

Wife of Charles Thomson,

Born December 1, 1731,

Died September 6, 1807.

CHARLES,

Son of John Thomson,

Born January 17, 1795,

Died March 26, 1820.

Removed from Lower Merion, Pennsylvania, 1838.

The other slab contains the following inscription, composed by John F. Watson:

This monument

Covers the remains of the

HONOURABLE

CHARLES THOMSON.

The first, and long

The Confidential Secretary of the

Continental Congress,

And the

Enlightened benefactor of his country

In its day of peril and need.

Born November 29, 1729.

Died August 16, 1824.

Full of honours and of years.

As a Patriot,

His memorial and just honours

Are inscribed on the pages

Of his country's history.

As a Christian,

His piety was sincere and enduring.

His Biblical learning was profound.

As is shown by his translation of the Septuagint.

As a Man,

He was honoured, loved and wept.

Erected

To the memory of an honoured

Uncle and Benefactor,

By his Nephew,

John Thomson, of Delaware.

Hic jacet

Homo veritatis et gratiæ.

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[Read before the Historical Society, at Norristown, October 27, 1897.]

MONTGOMERY COUNTY'S INFLUENCE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR NOMINATING CONVENTIONS.

BY JOSEPH S. WALTON.

While the Federal Constitution was forming in a secret convention at Philadelphia, and the opposition to such proceedings was growing among the people, the men of Pennsylvania were divided on a distinct issue in local politics.

The state constitution of 1776 had been hastily formed by the war party, and had never been submitted to the people for ratification.

By the time Montgomery county was separated from Philadelphia a distinct party had arisen in Pennsylvania with the avowed object of opposing the constitution of 1776.

These men assumed the name of Republicans; they drew into their ranks a large body of Friends and Germans, and absorbed the commercial interests of Philadelphia and the eastern part of the state. The neutrals of the late war and also a large number of the Tories found in this party a haven of political rest and an opportunity to pour out their long restrained wrath toward the men of 1776, who had confiscated their estates and driven many of them into exile.

This Republican party demanded a new state constitution. They objected to the undue patronage which the war constitution placed in the hands of the Supreme Executive Council, and to the absence of restraints, checks and balances. They were sure that while the constitution of 1776 might be endured during the war it could not be tolerated in times of peace. It would jeopardize the commercial interests of the

state and "tend to rash and precipitate and oppressive proceedings."

The opposition to these Republicans took the name of "Constitutionalists." They had been the authors of the constitution of 1776, and they would defend it. Did it not carry us through the long and oppressive war with Great Britain. Under it we fought and bled for greater freedom, and we won.

To say one word against this constitution was not only unpatriotic but more, it was treason. Surely, these Republicans must be in league with Great Britain. Are they not plotting to rob us of our liberties?

The Constitutionalists were largely Scotch Irish and over mountain people and farmers far removed from the centers of commerce. They were slow to forget their quarrel with England. When the Federal Constitution came up for ratification the Republicans of Pennsylvania immediately favored it. Here was an opportunity to have commerce regulated and secure law and order.

The Constitutionalists of course opposed the new Constitution. "Franky's New Roof," as they called it, was nothing more than a trick to rob honest men of the liberties for which they had fought. If the Republicans and the Tories favored it that was all the proof needed to convince any man that the Federal Constitution was nothing more than a secret league with Great Britain, in which these men were selling our dearly-bought liberties for private gain.

By the time six states had ratified the constitution and there was a prospect of three more states following their example, a cry came up from Western Pennsylvania calling for organized opposition. It declared that committees of correspondence are "now engaged in planning a uniform exertion to emancipate this state from the thralldom of despotism. A convention of deputies from every district will, in all probability, be agreed upon as the most eligible mode of combining the strength of the opposition."* A circular letter soon

*From eighteenth letter of "Sentinel" in the Independent Gazetteer of Freedom, April 9, 1788.

started from Cumberland county, calling for a meeting at Harrisburg September 3d, 1788.

The delegates to this convention were selected after the same manner that the Presbyterians selected delegates to a general synod.

A few of the leading anti-Federalists in each township assembled and selected out of their own number two or more to represent them at a county meeting where delegates were selected to go to the Harrisburg meeting. The entire proceedings were kept secret. Not until after the Harrisburg convention did any of the Federalists know anything of the meeting. Then it was learned that the men from the western part of the state, and also many of those from the more rural districts wanted an entire revision of the constitution, in short, a new constitutional convention, while the men from the eastern part of the state, and from the city of Philadelphia wanted merely a revision of the Federal Constitution. These two opposing factions of the anti-Federal party met at Harrisburg and fought over this issue until finally the amendment men from the East won, and the chief purpose for which the meeting was called failed.

Before this convention adjourned, however, something was done which marks the meeting as one of the most remarkable ever held in our country. It turned itself into a nominating convention and proceeded to nominate a ticket for the presidential campaign. Ten electors were named, who were to use their own judgment in voting for a President and Vice President. Eight Congressmen were also nominated. Six of them were anti-Federalist, and two of them were Federalists. It was not considered necessary then for men to represent a party; it was enough if they represented a section of the state. At that time Montgomery county was largely Federal, and for this reason it is supposed to have stood aloof from this Harrisburg meeting. Indeed, it is doubtful if any effort was made whatever to secure delegates from Montgomery county.

When the Federalists heard that there had been a nominating meeting at Harrisburg their indignation knew no

bounds. What right have these men to make a ticket for Pennsylvania? Was it not all done in secret? they asked. They held no public county conventions. Such actions forebode revolution. Another ticket must be formed for the good people of the state. It shall be called in a perfectly proper manner. Accordingly, county mass meetings were called and publicly advertised, where any person could go. At these meetings nominating committees were sent out to bring in names of persons suitable to serve the county in the approaching convention, to be held at Lancaster in November. Montgomery county now came to the front. Here was something which appealed to her strong Federal proclivities. A mass meeting was held and two delegates to the Lancaster convention were selected.

In this meeting Montgomery county in no way departed from the methods followed by Federalists in the other counties. The Lancaster meeting was called purely for nominating purposes. There were no Congressional districts then. The state was entitled to eight Congressmen-at-large.

The men at Lancaster determined to represent only their own party, while the nominees were to represent all the important sections of the state.

The Harrisburg meeting was condemned, and all manner of opprobrium heaped upon its nominees.

The two tickets went before the people. Meetings were called in election districts, and resolutions passed condemning one or the other of the tickets. It was soon discovered that the Harrisburg ticket, which contained the names of six anti-Federalists and two Federalists, was receiving more favor than the Lancaster nominations, which were purely Federal. Accordingly, the Lancaster ticket must be revised. Four of the Federalists were removed, and the two Federalists who were nominated at Harrisburg were put in their place, and two additional Federalists were found. This method of revising nominations at county and election district meetings was common for many years. F. A. Muhlenberg, of Montgomery county, was on both tickets. The Federalists by this adroit move won the election.

During the following fourteen years nominating conventions in state matters declined, and caucus methods took their place. During this same period, on the other hand, county conventions for nominating purposes came into use.

It was a time of rapid progress in popular enlightenment on public questions, and methods of conducting elections and making nominations. The new state constitution of 1790 broke up the old party divisions in the state. A crowd of newly enfranchised men rushed into politics, declaring that every man that voted had the right to make the ticket he intended to support. At the same time the majority of the ablest and most peaceably inclined men were disgusted with the turbulent and disorderly proceedings then common in a nominating convention.

These persons felt that a nomination made by a few persons of prominence and stability at the close of a session of the assembly was a far better method of nominating than a noisy convention. Moreover a convention was an expensive and difficult thing to hold. There were no roads of any value in the commonwealth. Crossing the mountains was a serious and dangerous thing. It was not unusual for men to make their wills before starting to a state convention. These things led a few prominent Federalists, members of the state constitutional convention and the assembly, to suggest that a meeting of those interested be called before the two bodies adjourn. At this meeting, in 1790, which was not exactly like a caucus since it was composed of members of a constitutional convention, in addition to men from the assembly, General Arthur St. Clair was nominated for governor. A circular letter was then issued to the counties, announcing that the nominations were made by men representing every part of the state.

These proceedings aroused the active resentment of the anti-Federalists. What right, they asked, have a few self-appointed men around Philadelphia to dictate to freemen how to vote? St. Clair, they declared, was not nominated by a representative body? Did not these very men disagree among themselves? Another meeting must be called. Accordingly, a number of anti-Federalists were judiciously selected from the

constitutional convention and the assembly, and General Mifflin was nominated without any differences in the caucus. This latter fact convinced the people that Mifflin was nominated by a more representative body than St. Clair.

Both nominations and the methods used went before the different county meetings, which passed resolutions in favor of one or the other of the candidates. In Montgomery county the discussions on this subject were severe. The anti-Federal element was growing in the northern part of the county. Although Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg was one of the leading men in the caucus his influence was greatest in the vicinity of Philadelphia. In the campaign which followed Montgomery county remained Federal, but the majority shrank considerably.

Two years later, in 1792, there was a disagreement about the methods of nominating electors. While it was generally understood by both factions that George Washington was to be elected, nevertheless quite an issue was drawn upon methods of nominating electors. One party, of which Thomas McKean was an avowed leader, believed that the proper way was to ascertain the will of the people by letters of correspondence, and then let an impartial committee examine the letters received and from them form the ticket. Another party believed that the only proper way was to call a convention, as had been done in 1788. James Wilson left the McKean crowd and joined this faction because he said that he did not believe that letters offered the proper method to ascertain the sense of the people. The Federalists and the anti-Federalists were divided among themselves upon this question. For several weeks nominations by conventions or nominations by letters of correspondence was the burning question.

It now became the leading object with men prominent in each faction to secure the resolutions of the county meetings. In Philadelphia there was almost a riot. In Montgomery county the division between the two factions was nearly equal. Such conditions always led to some advance movement in this great struggle toward modern nominating methods. Accordingly, at this point Montgomery county made the first

movement toward delegating authority in making nominations. A meeting was held at Joseph Tyson's, on the 20th of August, 1792, by the convention men. Here it was recommended that the inhabitants of the several townships should meet at their respective places of choosing township officers, and choose three persons to represent the township in a general county meeting to be held at John Wentz's, in Whitpain township, September 29th, at 10 a. m., "to fix a ticket for said county."*

These township meetings were to be held on September 22d, between three and six o'clock in the afternoon. Jonathan Roberts was the chairman of the preliminary meeting. (First of the kind ever held—different from anti-Federal township meeting of 1788.) The call was no sooner published than the opposition was up in arms. That meeting at Tyson's, they said, was irregular, and in no way represented the people. What right had they to call a series of township meetings? Only eleven out of the twenty-eight townships were represented at Tyson's, and even the call to Tyson's meeting was "impartial and by no means expressive of the sense of the county."

The correspondence men grew excited with their own arguments. How can three men represent a whole township? they asked. The majority of freemen are opposed to committees. They are "determined never to give up their constitutional right of choosing their own representatives, both in Congress and in the assembly; and they look upon every would-be nabob with contempt, that would by artful means filch from them their most invaluable privileges."

The correspondence men then publish a notice of a meeting of their own kind to meet at John Wentz's, October 4th, "to consult upon a ticket for representatives in general assembly of Pennsylvania, for the ensuing general election. Also for Representatives in the Congress of the United States.

N. B.—It is expected that no committees from

**Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 5, 1792.

townships will attend.* Thus the correspondence men of Montgomery county favored the county mass meeting as the only legitimate and proper method of nominating a ticket. They were an anti-delegate and an anti-committee faction. They sent no deputies to the convention at Lancaster, but agreed with the anti-conferree's faction in Philadelphia; that committees of correspondence offered the only means of getting a state ticket nominated.

The convention men declared that the old county mass meeting was unfair. A crowd could be gathered from the contiguous districts "where a few designing men could get out their friends" and name a ticket, while the citizens in the outlying districts would, by reason of distance be deprived of any representation whatever.

The faction which believed in nominations by conventions went right on and sent three delegates to the nominating convention, which met at Lancaster, September the 20th. Montgomery county was this year very much like Philadelphia county. The majority of the convention men were Federalists.

After the nominations were made more and more of the Federalists joined the ranks of the convention men, and more and more of the anti-Federalists joined the ranks of the correspondence men. Thus, in 1792, the state nominating convention system had one foot in the grave, the Federalists only holding a convention. This was the last state convention held in Pennsylvania for over twenty years.

The conference men, through a state committee, sent out five hundred and twenty letters. Replies were received from seventeen out of twenty counties. Forty-three names of Federalists and anti-Federalists composed the list. These names were submitted to a second series of county meetings, where a selection was made and reported to the state committee. By this means a ticket was finally brought into proper dimensions.

Between the years 1792 and 1796, Pennsylvania ceased

*Pennsylvania Gazette, September 12, 1792.

to nominate Congress-men-at-Large, and the state was districted. This removed the interest from state conventions to county conventions. As a result the state conventions were soon superseded by the caucus, and county conventions were rapidly developed. In 1796 nominations were made by mixed caucuses. The assemblymen invited the U. S. Congressmen and a few prominent citizens to join them; this composed the anti-Federal caucus.

The Federal caucus was similar, with the exception that there were United States Congressmen invited in. By 1800 both parties made all their state and national nominations in the pure caucus. The vitality and the spirit of the nominating idea was now taking root in the county nominations.

In this movement Montgomery county led the way. Her experience in 1792, at a time when the Federalists were only slightly in the majority, made it possible in 1794, in a county nominating meeting, to have seventeen townships and one borough represented at one county meeting. And the delegates were elected at regularly held township meetings. The credentials of the delegates were verified, and none but those who had been duly elected at a township meeting were admitted.*

Montgomery county accomplished at one meeting what Chester county required three meetings to do. That is, Chester county in 1796 held one mass meeting to nominate county officials. Another meeting was held at another time and place to agree with Delaware county to select a Congressman. A third meeting was held at West Chester. It was composed of two persons from each township, who were to elect conferrees, who were to meet with other conferrees from Montgomery and Bucks counties for the purpose of forming a ticket to be composed of four State Senators. At that time Bucks, Montgomery and Chester comprised one state Senatorial district. And in the matter of selecting conferrees we find Chester county imitating the Montgomery county method of holding a county meeting.

*Pennsylvania Gazette, October 10, 1794.

Soon after this the Republican or Jeffersonian party obtained a large majority in Montgomery county. The further development of the county meetings therefore ceased and they were taken up in Chester county, where the parties were more evenly divided. The Republicans still being slightly in the minority brought to the surface that remarkable referendum movement in methods of nominating. Most of the other counties were still adhering to the old and popular county mass meeting as the best way to form a ticket.

To Montgomery county belongs the credit of being the first county in the Commonwealth, if not in the entire nation, to bring into use the idea of delegating authority in nominating, and holding township meetings and having them represented in the county meeting by equal votes, size, wealth or population being no consideration.

[Read before the Historical Society, November 28, 1897.]

On the 26th day of April, 1777, he sailed from a neighboring port, after much opposition on the part of the King of France. Some applauded his course, others condemned it as folly. To his young wife, he wrote from on board the ship at sea, "From love to me become a good American; the welfare of America is closely bound up with the welfare of mankind; it is about to become the safe asylum of virtue, tolerance, equality and peaceful liberty." His enthusiasm, ardor and candor won many approving friends. No secret was made of his going to aid the rebels in America in their struggle for independence; the Admiralty in England sent ships to lay in wait for his capture and consignment to imprisonment. Defying all opposition, he came over with twelve companions, among whom was DeKalb, an experienced soldier.

Arriving in Philadelphia after a long and perilous voyage, their reception by Congress would have repressed a patriotism less pure and sincere. Many adventurers had been recommended for official position, in some cases hostile to the patriot cause. A cabal against Washington was manifesting itself, and dissensions among aspiring men portended

LAFAYETTE'S RETREAT FROM BARREN HILL.

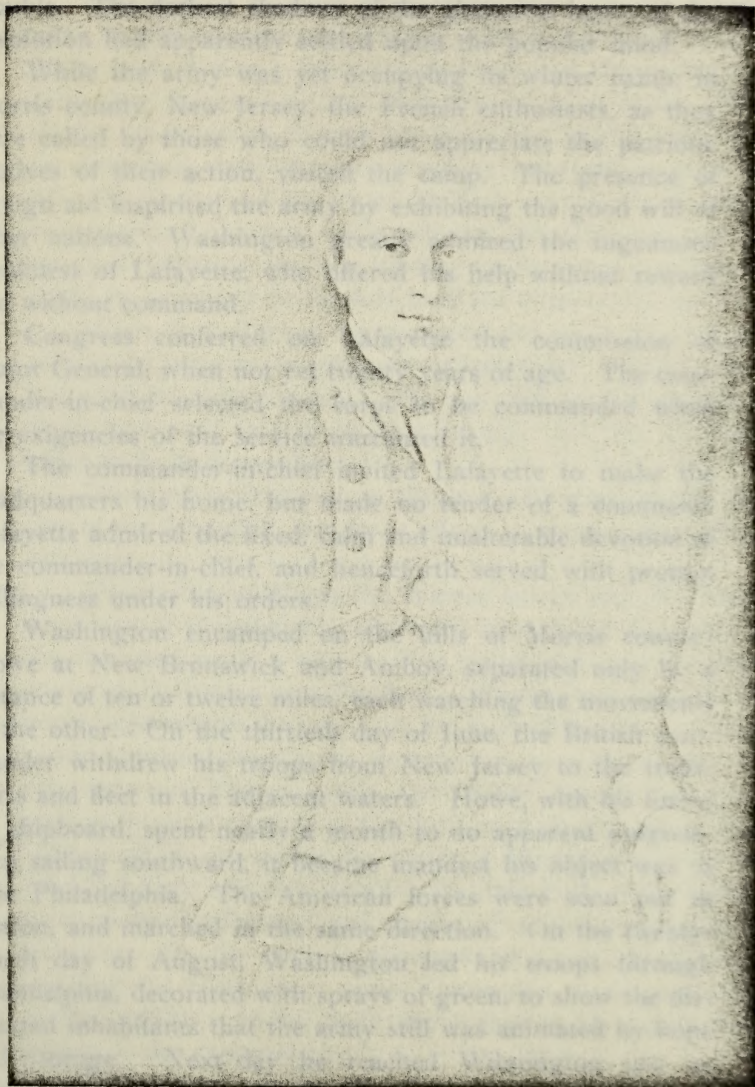
BY LEVI STREEPER.

Lafayette first attracted the notice of the American Congress by acquaintance made with him by its commissioners in France.

He proffered them his services without pay, offering to bear all expenses when told that commissions could only be issued by Congress. He was assured his aid would be accepted.

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Arriving in Philadelphia after a long and perilous voyage, their reception by Congress would have repressed a patriotism less pure and sincere. Many adventurers had been recommended for official position, in some cases hurtful to the patriot cause. A cabal against Washington was manifesting itself, and dissensions among aspiring men portended



LAFAYETTE IN 1778.

trouble. The darkest shadows of the gloomiest hours of the revolution had apparently settled upon the popular mind.

While the army was yet occupying its winter camp, in Morris county, New Jersey, the French enthusiasts, as they were called by those who could not appreciate the patriotic motives of their action, visited the camp. The presence of foreign aid inspired the army by exhibiting the good will of other nations. Washington greatly admired the ingenuous frankness of Lafayette, who offered his help without reward and without command.

Congress conferred on Lafayette the commission of Major General, when not yet twenty years of age. The commander-in-chief selected the corps to be commanded when the exigencies of the service warranted it.

The commander-in-chief invited Lafayette to make the headquarters his home, but made no tender of a command. Lafayette admired the fixed, calm and unalterable devotion of the commander-in-chief, and henceforth served with prompt willingness under his orders.

Washington encamped on the hills of Morris county; Howe at New Brunswick and Amboy, separated only by a distance of ten or twelve miles, each watching the movements of the other. On the thirtieth day of June, the British commander withdrew his troops from New Jersey to the transports and fleet in the adjacent waters. Howe, with his forces on shipboard, spent nearly a month to no apparent purpose; then sailing southward, it became manifest his object was to take Philadelphia. The American forces were soon put in motion, and marched in the same direction. On the twenty-fourth day of August, Washington led his troops through Philadelphia, decorated with sprays of green, to show the disaffected inhabitants that the army still was animated by hope and courage. Next day he reached Wilmington, just as Howe was landing his forces from the transports and shipping on the Elk river, a few miles from the town of Elkton, 54 miles from Philadelphia. Howe was delayed here, getting horses by purchase or seizure for transport of his baggage, and transfer of his wounded to hospital ships of the fleet.

Washington marched from Wilmington up the Brandywine, to take a position for defence. Howe advanced by good roads from Elkton. After maneuvering and skirmishing for some time, the general battle of the Brandywine began. With all the concomitants of such a contest, the patriot army kept the field until nightfall, when a retreat was made in good order. Lafayette and his friend DeKalb were in the battle as volunteers. Lafayette, while rallying the fugitives, was severely wounded in the leg; binding up the wound as best he could, he remained on the field until the close of the battle.

When disposition of the wounded was made, Washington said to the surgeon, in reference to Lafayette: "Take care of him as if he were my son." He was sent to the hospital at Bethlehem until able to return to camp. He was in service again early in November.

Washington retreated to Chester, afterward to the east side of the Schuylkill, and made efforts to prevent Howe from crossing.

Howe encamped near the Warren tavern after the battle, southwest of Philadelphia; afterward came down the valley to the river and made a feint, as if to go up and seize the army stores at Pottstown and Reading. Washington immediately moved upward on the east side, for their protection. Howe suddenly turned down again, encamping one night on the west side, between French creek and Valley Forge. A small portion forced a passage at Gordon's ford on the 22d of September, eleven days after the battle of Brandywine. On the following night and next morning the main body of the British army crossed at Fatland, and encamped on the eastern side of the river. On the 25th, it encamped at Germantown; next morning the Grenadiers, under Cornwallis, took possession of Philadelphia. Howe spent thirty days in his march from Elkton to the captured city.

Washington concentrated his forces along Perkiomen creek. October 4th he attacked the British at Germantown, but withdrew to the Perkiomen without decisive results. He afterwards encamped on the Methacton Hill, near the Skip-pack, and then again concentrated north of Philadelphia, on

the thickly-wooded hills of Whitemarsh, in a defensive position, well protected from assault.

On a severely cold night of the fourth of December, the British forces, fourteen thousand in number, marched out by preconcerted arrangement, to attack the American army. General Howe spent almost four days in his endeavors to find an assailable point of attack, that gave warrant of success, and failing to find his antagonist unprepared for his reception, whatever maneuver he essayed to make, returned to Philadelphia.

Howe withdrew his army into close winter quarters in the city, which was protected by a line of redoubts, fourteen in number, extending from river to river; thus entrenched, the British in security gave themselves up to all the amusements and follies of camp life, only making excursions for food and forage.

Washington had no choice but to seek safe winter quarters for his suffering soldiers. In the last days of a cold December, the winter camp was made on the snowclad hills and vales of Valley Forge, 21 miles from Philadelphia. Between the two camps was foraging from both sides, it being the policy to confine the British as closely as possible to the environs of the winter camp.

Congress passed a law that anyone arrested for supplying the enemy with provisions or forage, should be tried by court-martial, and if convicted, should suffer the penalty of death. Congress also had a law that their army should be authorized to collect necessities of all kinds, food, forage, etc., and tender payment in Continental currency; if not accepted, the goods were taken.

The English paid for their purchases in gold. The patriots could only pay in ever-depreciating paper money, provided by Congress.

A contraband trade with the enemy soon sprang up, although forbidden under the penalty of death, within thirty miles of Philadelphia. This traffic was carried on largely by floating down the river in batteaux at night to a fixed point within the British lines. On the country roads, the usual

mode of transportation at that period was on horseback, with capacious wallets.

Potter, with a company of militia, was placed on the west side of the Schuylkill to guard the lower fords and protect the people in Merion, and those trafficking by boats were watched. An arrest of a few made on the river they imprisoned under guard, and soon this, with active scouting on the roads, made this trade extremely hazardous.

Lafayette, while holding from Congress a Major General's commission, served as volunteer in obedience to the commander's order, willingly. In preparation for the campaign of 1778 he was given a command.

His first prominent service was in command of a corps of observation, which encamped for a short period on the southerly side of the hill, about a quarter of a mile below the church at Barren Hill, on the easterly side of the Ridge road.

General Howe contemplated in a few days being superseded by General Clinton, and returning to England. His officers, of his staff and others, tendered him a great festival. On the eighteenth day of May, and the night following, the *fete* was held. It was described as a great carousal, where gambling, dancing and pleasures of all kinds were indulged without restraint. Early on the morning of the 19th, before the results of the night carouse were dissipated, Howe was informed that Lafayette, with twenty-five hundred men and eight cannot, had crossed the Schuylkill ten miles below Valley Forge, and was encamped at Barren Hill. Hoping by a rapid movement to capture the entire *corps* and give a closing lustre to his American career, he projected a night movement.

General Grant, on the night of the 19th, at 10 o'clock, was sent with five thousand three hundred men, to proceed with the greatest caution and least noise (tradition says the wheels of the gun carriages were muffled), to gain by a roundabout way the rear of Lafayette, and prevent his escape. The best of guides, well acquainted with roads in the district, were in company with Grant's expedition.

On the morning of the 20th they were followed by a body

of five thousand seven hundred men, under the command of Howe.

Clinton, Knyphausen and Admiral Howe, elder brother of General Howe, accompanied this division, to witness the discomfiture of the youthful General, who with the prisoners was to be shipped to England in a few days with General Howe. It would appear as if the body of men at Barren Hill were to be sandwiched (if all had proceeded according to the arranged program for defeat) between two bodies, each numerically more than double that of Lafayette.

Grant, who started the evening of the 19th, came out through Germantown to Chestnut Hill, then up the Bethlehem road, to a point near St. Thomas' Church, where a road branched off toward the Skippack, known as the Skippack road; this road was followed to its junction with the Matson's Ford road at the Broadaxe, whence the march was continued on the Matson's Ford road toward Plymouth. That Grant reached the Skippack road by a road or roads east of Germantown road is more than probable.

At Mather's Mill, near the junction of Bethlehem and road to the Broadaxe, Mr. Stoy waked from sleep, by hearing an unusual clatter of horses' feet, observed a body of troops passing; judging their object, he at once started across the fields on foot to notify the camp at Barren Hill. After proceeding some distance he became very tired, and not very far from the residence of Charles Yeakle called up Rudolph Bartle, who hastened to Barren Hill and gave the warning.

Lafayette, in entire ignorance of the numbers moving against him, had the camp aroused, and prepared for action, not believing the numbers much greater than his own. Howe had not sent any more than large scouting or foraging parties since the more than futile attacks of December, 1777, owing to watchfulness and heroism of Lydia Darrah, in her assumed trip to Frankford for flour.

About daylight on the 20th a hurried word came that a large force was coming toward the river, on the Matson Ford road. Lafayette, with one or two mounted aids (it was a re-

connoissance by mounted officers) rode up the road toward Plymouth, and from some elevation near Marble Hall, saw the advance of Grant's army just emerging over Cold Point hill, near where the Cold Point Baptist Church now stands.

Going back as speedily as possible, Lafayette ordered a retreat at once. The forces all ready for any event were soon in motion, preceded by the artillery, and followed in order by all his division, in direction of Matson's ford.

When Grant's column, which was more than a mile in length, came to the road that branched off toward Spring Mill, near the residence now of William Livezey, word came that Lafayette was retreating, and by going direct to the ford he could be stopped; this was contrary to the plan of the expedition, which was to take the left hand mill road.

A council of officers was called to determine which road to follow; this caused considerable delay, which was generally accounted as a prime factor in Lafayette's escape. The late Samuel Maulsby, then a bright and active boy, was an eyewitness of the halt at Plymouth. His account, as given to Watson, and entered in his annals, said: "The halt lasted more than an hour, and in addition he said there were persons with the British in a distinguishing uniform, some of whom were recognized as neighbors." This shows that guides, acquainted with the country and its roads, were at hand.

The road to Spring Mill was taken as the plan of the foray indicated. Grant's course was by a road, part of which was vacated (about 1825) seventy years ago, but was in use then, and joined the road going north from the mill door, just below the lawn, in front of the residence of Isaac Roberts. There was a wood of primitive growth, extending from the high ground that rises north of mill, eastward across White-oak Hollow a considerable distance. North of this wood was a meadow and farm land of some extent.

At this point, both by tradition and the diary kept by an aid of General Howe, the army halted and prepared for battle. These preparations required some time for the long column to come up into position, to place an impassable opposition to the progress of Lafayette toward the ford.

From cover of the wood Grant's army emerged, ready for conflict, the main body to the high ground near the junction of the roads north of the mill, where a view of the long open meadows, extending from Spring Mill up the river to the ford, was had; when the rear of Lafayette's command was seen within easy distance of Matson's, safe from conflict and pursuit. The guns that headed the retreating corps were in position to command the ford and render pursuit impracticable to a foe in the rear; the whole scheme of capture and the expected exultation vanished.

What course Grant took on his return cannot be definitely stated. With open roads and unenclosed woods, by the nearest way, it was noon when he reached Chestnut Hill on his way back.

Howe's contingent waited for hours at Chestnut Hill, expecting to hear Grant's guns in battle, but were surprised to see him return without prisoners, outgeneraled, weary and crestfallen. Howe felt equal chagrin, as his expected glorification on returning to England was spoiled. All returned to Philadelphia by the shortest road.

The report from English sources reads as follows:

"Lafayette had been surprised, his direct communication with Valley Forge cut off; but a lower ford, called Matson's, which was nearer to Grant than to him, remained unoccupied. Sending small parties into the wood, to present themselves as the heads of attacking columns, he deceived his antagonist, and had crossed the ford while Grant was preparing to give battle."

This is an extract made from the diary of an aid of General Howe, who doubtless was at Chestnut Hill, not an eye-witness of the movements, and unacquainted with the locations of the ford, and taken from reports from the disappointed army.

It appears as if it was expected that Lafayette would try to escape by way of Ridge road and Swede's ford (now Norristown), as a force was in position to guard against retreat that way.

This unmistakably shows a preparation for battle was

made, and tradition makes the locality of that preparation at the point indicated; it occupied so much time that Lafayette escaped, covered from sight by the same woods.

Lafayette's encampment, during its continuance at Barren Hill, being the largest collection of troops encamped during the Revolution at this point, was the subject of much discussion in the surrounding neighborhood.

There were many residents near the camp, and all its movements were open to observation. It was but a short time before it became known the camp was in danger from some cause for alarm, yet nothing indicated a change of position. The artillery was still in position to receive the approaching foe by the Ridge road, it being the direct line of approach from Philadelphia. It was early in the morning of the 20th, when it was observed a few mounted officers went hastily from the camp on the road, direct toward Plymouth. Awaiting the return of the little party of observation the camp maintained the composure of intense expectancy. Soon the scene changed. Cannon were limbered and moved in advance, followed in regular order with all the removable appurtenances of the camp.

As the situation was soon known to the community, it became difficult to comprehend how the corps could escape by Matson's ford. Report gave to the halt at Plymouth only twenty minutes, and great fear was entertained that there was not time to reach the ford without being intercepted and captured. Watson, on most creditable testimony of an eye-witness, says the halt or council lasted more than an hour.

Another factor as to time is found in the preparation for battle in the rear of the woods, that concealed the movement of Lafayette from his antagonist.

A column of more than a mile in length on narrow cart roads would require, to come up and prepare for action, at least two hours. This, with the halt at Plymouth, gives three hours for Lafayette's retreat, from the time the British reached the road to Spring Mill to when Lafayette was seen nearing the river. In confirmation of this loss of time, the English account admits that Lafayette escaped while they were pre-

paring for battle. Grant's forces were from a little after sunrise until noon in marching two miles to Spring Mill, and back by choice of roads to Chestnut Hill; all the delays were retreating time for his expected antagonist.

The question may be asked, "Why not retreat by Young's ford (now Lafayette station)?" The obvious way of retreat was by Matson's ford (now Conshohocken).

From the camp was an easy road by regular descent in open woods and mill road to Spring Mill, thence by continuous meadows to the ford. Young's ford was approached by an extremely hilly and narrow road, and in bad repair; the ford itself was a difficult one for those not well acquainted with it, and the road from it to the Great Valley road indirect and wearisome. Matson's was nearer, and in better communication with Valley Forge, by way of the Gulf, and had been passed over by the command in coming to encamp. Howe evidently was informed that Matson's would be chosen, by those to the manor born, and made his plans in accordance.

The report that Lafayette was surprised and heads of columns peering from the woods was evidently to mollify the disappointment to those who anticipated brilliant success.

While the retreat was made, a body of horsemen were stationed on the eastern side of Young's ford. They were supposed to have reached here by the Ridge road and lower ford road to the river, thence up the river on a road used by settlers and fishermen. This was held in memory by tradition, and allusion was made to it in cotemporary annals, not now at hand.

An almost continuous woods, on the northern side of the hill on which the camp was situated, extended from a short distance west of the Ridge road to the river near Spring Mill. Thence down the river on its eastern side was a continuous wood on the river side, almost to the road over Young's ford.

On the hill in the wood was a band of friendly Indians, attached to the command of Lafayette. About the time the main body of Lafayette was nearing the ford at Matson's, the troop at Young's began to move up the river, when from the hill above the Indians fired a volley at the horsemen, and with

a war whoop, in true Indian style dashed into the river, holding their guns over their heads; by wading and swimming they gained the western bank in safety, on the way to join those who crossed above.

The leaders in the Revolution made but little use of Indian warriors. Why were the Oneidas found here? In 1777, when the British Admiralty felt the necessity of ending the war by all means in its power, it determined to employ the Indian tribes in a merciless border warfare against the rebels. A vigorous effort to gain control over all the tribes in New York was made, by seductive offers of plunder and license. Most of the tribes were won over as allies to the English, and joined the force under Burgoyne, advancing toward Albany. The Oneidas were almost alone in refusing to connect their people in such an onslaught, and gave their adherence to the forces under Washington.

Refusing to join in a campaign of rapine and murder, and deciding, when the neighboring tribes were going to Burgoyne, to send their warriors to oppose the progress of his merciless horde, the Oneidas became attached to the command of General Gates. After a series of minor engagements, in which the Indian allies suffered great loss and were dreaded by friend and foe, the campaign culminated in the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga, October 11th. Washington had sent part of his force to the aid of Gates. When these troops and others returned to the camp in Pennsylvania the Oneidas were found here too. Gates, like many more, was opposed to employing Indians. All central and western New York was filled with Indian tribes, lamenting the loss of their braves, and filled with all the revengeful impulses of their nature. The Oneidas came for protection. The forces from there crossed the Delaware at Easton, and were attached to the army here. To have dismissed this band to their home, in the midst of disappointed and hostile tribes, so soon after their defeat, would have been an act unbecoming those contending for justice to themselves.

It is often asked why Lafayette was sent to encamp at Barren Hill. The commander at Valley Forge, always acting

from a full comprehension of the demands of the service, had, doubtless, reasons fully convincing to himself. While Howe was in possession of Philadelphia, the American Congress sat in the old court house in the town of York, west of Susquehanna river. Despatches from the army were sent by special couriers, and only the occurrences of commanding interest were deemed worthy of transmissal. Hence, many incidents only local and inconsequential were left without public record.

The army at Valley Forge had been rested, clothed, provisioned and organized for the campaign of 1778.

Lafayette as Major General was given a command, and endeared himself to it, by furnishing at his own expense many requisites not obtainable from the army stores. His command needed to be drilled, marched and encamped in order to acquire efficiency. Barren Hill camp commanded the approach of two great roads from the city, which were the only outlets for scouting and foraging to a large district. The exhibition of force in a well chosen position would deter small parties of marauders; at the same time overawe parties seduced into the forbidden trade, both germane to the shutting off of supplies to the enemy. It was known at Valley Forge that Howe would soon be superseded by Clinton, and evacuation of Philadelphia probably soon follow. The show of readiness for active movements was not without effect upon the British in choosing the field for the campaign of 1778. The discomfiture of Lafayette might have had a disastrous effect. We know his masterly generalship in extricating his command in face of an exulting foe was inspiring, and caused great rejoicing at Valley Forge. Washington put his trust in the Master of Armies, a trust that never suffers defeat.

[Read before the Historical Society at Barren Hill, September 18, 1895.]

LAFAYETTE:

A EULOGY DELIVERED BEFORE THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF
MONTGOMERY COUNTY AT THE DEDICATION OF THE
MONUMENT AT BARREN HILL, MAY 21, 1898.

BY F. G. HOBSON, Esq.

We are met on this beautiful Spring afternoon, surrounded by fertile fields, clothed in a garment of green, in the vicinity of large and prosperous cities, of world renown for their commerce and philanthropy, in the midst of the great Keystone Commonwealth, within whose borders have heroes starved, and fought and died in freedom's holy cause; citizens of the largest and truest Republic upon which the sun of heaven shines; rejoicing in our present attainments; proud of our illustrious history. We throw aside the pressing duties of the present. For the time being we have no thoughts of the future. Our only thought is of the past. This day we pay a tribute to one who in times past, when we were in dire need, came to our assistance from a foreign land, and from a strange people, to fight our battle for us, and so link his name and fame with this people and this great nation. We are not adding anything to his fame by what we do and say here this day. By laying this wreath of our affection and loving remembrance at this spot hallowed by his presence, at this historic ground, the scene of one of his many military triumphs, we are honoring ourselves and doing our present duty to ourselves and posterity. The history of his noble deeds, his many sacrifices, his exalted character, his military prowess, his reliable judgment, his strategic skill, has al-

ready been written. Nothing our feeble voices can utter will add to his perfect glory.

Our hero needs no stone. Long after this beautiful granite block shall have been dissipated by the tooth of time, the sweet aroma of his life and character, his achievements and his successes, will continue an inspiration to all lovers of mankind. The life lasts longer than the stone. The stones of Bethel and of Ebenezer have long since become mingled with the elements, but Jacob did not die when Bethel crumbled, nor have we forgotten how Samuel conquered the Philistines, although the stone he set up has since fallen down. But let us remember that this fact does in no measure lessen the approval of generations that the stone had been erected. Every memorial stone is speaking in sublime voice the same thought. "Faithful and successful effort must not die." If men will hold their peace "the stones will cry out."

The Historical Society of Montgomery County is doing a grand work in marking with appropriate monuments the many historic spots within the confines of our county. Places, however, are but the skeletons. They are remembered and deserve to be remembered only on account of what man has there accomplished. Man and his achievements are the flesh and blood that give life and being and immortality to the historic spots. Bunker Hill is Bunker Hill because America's undisciplined farmers there struck blows for liberty and human enfranchisement. Valley Forge means that General George Washington and his band of patriots could endure any hardship or privation for the holy cause in which they had enlisted. Appomattox means Grant. Winchester means Sheridan. Waterloo means Wellington. Trafalgar means Nelson. Mobile means Farragut. Manila means Dewey. Barren Hill means the Marquis de Lafayette.

Lafayette was born September 6, 1757, about 200 miles south of Paris, France. When two years of age his gallant father died upon the battle-field of Minden. At 13 years his mother died, leaving him a great fortune. At 16 years he married the daughter of one of the noblest families of France. At 19 years he was captain of dragoons in the garrison of

Metz. It was there, at an entertainment given by the Commandant, a relative, in honor of a visit by the brother of England's king, he learned of an incident of intelligence received that morning by the English Prince from London, that the Congress of Rebels in Philadelphia had issued a Declaration of Independence. "At the first news of this quarrel my heart was enrolled in it," said Lafayette, many years afterwards. Before he slumbered upon his pillow he had resolved to devote his life and fortune to the cause.

The self devotion of Lafayette was twofold, first to the people maintaining so unequal a struggle for national existence and against foreign oppression; secondly and chiefly to the principles enunciated in their immortal Declaration, "All men are created free and equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

His resolve was firmly fixed. Nothing could tempt him from his purpose. Youth, health, fortune, the King's favor, domestic felicity, urged him to remain. He spurned them all for toil and danger in a distant land, and an almost hopeless cause. His family plead in vain. His King refused his assent. The English Ambassador remonstrated. The French government issued orders to detain the vessel purchased by Lafayette and for the arrest of his person. His vessel eluded the order and was removed to Spain. The order of arrest was executed, but by stratagem he escaped to the Spanish port. But even at sea two British warships chased him, but his vessel was as elusive as is the Spanish squadron of to-day. After a stormy voyage of two months he landed at Georgetown, S. C., and took his journey to Philadelphia to meet the Continental Congress.

He was 19, tall, slim, with red hair, not able to speak English, except in a broken manner, he was received coldly by Congress, but their hearts were soon won by his asking the privilege of joining the American army on two conditions: first, that he might serve as a volunteer without command; second, that he would receive no pay for his services.

On July 31, 1777, his services were accepted and Con-

gress gave him the rank of a Major General of the United States. Next day he met the noble Washington, who was completely won by his engaging character. Thus began a friendship of these two great men that continued with singular devotion till death.

The story of his military genius, what he did and how well he fought here and elsewhere, will be more eloquently told by the principal orator of the day. His wounds at Brandywine, received while fearlessly trying to rally some retreating soldiers, won for him an approving report by Washington to Congress. Congress in turn responded by giving him command of a division of troops.

In the language of another "Just 20 years old, an enthusiastic friend of popular liberty in whose battle he had just poured out his own blood, eager for honorable fame, the acknowledged favorite and friend of the greatest of patriot generals on earth, he was already honored with rank and authority of the foremost worth. He has won a place among the world's immortals, and yet a boy in years. What his friends had counted folly and the state disloyalty, he had justified as valor and glorified with fame."

His masterly withdrawal from this place and his heroic conduct at the battle of Monmouth won for him special votes of gratitude by Congress.

When France declared war against England in February, 1778, Lafayette, by advice of Washington, returned to France for consultation with the King. His services there proved of great value to the American cause. He created much enthusiasm amongst the people, and persuaded the government to an unqualified support of the war. For six months he remained in France. Franklin, in March, 1779, wrote, "The Marquis de Lafayette, who, during his stay in France has been extremely zealous on all occasions, returns again to fight for us. He is infinitely esteemed and beloved here, and I am persuaded will do everything in his power to merit a continuance of the same affection from America."

On his return Congress passed a special resolution of welcome, and placed him in command of the defences of Virginia.

He took an active part in the subsequent military events and was an active participant in the siege and surrender of Yorktown.

The war brought to a successful close, he returned to France, where the French Minister of War announced to him that he should hold the same rank in the French army that he had held in America, and that his commission should date from the surrender of Cornwallis.

In summing up his military character, John Quincy Adams spoke of him as follows:

"Lafayette, at twenty-five years of age, has lived the life of a patriarch, and illustrated the career of a hero. Had his days upon earth been then numbered, and had he then slept with his fathers, illustrious as for centuries their names had been, his name, to the end of time, would have transcended them all. Fortunate youth! Fortunate beyond even the measure of his companions in arms with whom he had achieved the glorious consummation of American Independence. His fame was all his own; not cheaply earned; not ignobly won. His fellow-soldiers had been the companions and defenders of their country. They reaped for themselves, for their wives, their children, their posterity to the latest time, the rewards of their dangers and their toils. Lafayette had watched, and labored, and fought, and bled, not for himself, not for his family, not, in the first instance, even for his country. In the legendary tales of chivalry we read of tournaments at which a foreign and unknown knight suddenly presented himself, armed in complete steel, and, with the visor down, enters the ring to contend with the assembled flower of knighthood for the prize of honor, to be awarded by the hand of beauty; bears it in triumph away, and disappears from the astonished multitude of competitors and spectators of the feats of arms. But where, in the rolls of history, where, in the fiction of romance, where, but in the life of Lafayette, has been seen the noble stranger, flying with the tribute of his name, his rank, his influence, his ease, his domestic bliss, his treasure, his blood, to the relieve of a suffering and distant land, in the hour of her direst calamity—baring his bosom to her foes; and not at the

transient pageantry of a tournament, but for a succession of five years sharing all the vicissitudes of her fortunes; always eager to appear at the post of danger—tempering the glow of youthful ardor with the cold caution of a veteran commander; bold and daring in action; prompt in execution; rapid in pursuit; fertile in expedients; unattainable in retreat; often exposed, but never surprised, never disconcerted; eluding his enemy when within his fancied grasp; bearing upon him with irresistible sway when forced to cope with him in the conflict of arms? And what is this but the diary of Lafayette, from the day of his rallying the scattered fugitives of the Brandywine, insensible of the blood flowing from his wound, to the storming of the redoubt at Yorktown."

His subsequent services to his native land were hardly less important and glorious than those rendered to us.

Time forbids to dwell upon these at length. Suffice it to say, he served as a member of the Assembly of Notables in 1787 and for the next five years remained one of the most conspicuous actors as he was the wisest and most generous in the troublous career of the French Revolution. He was the only man in France in whom all—king, courtier and people—had perfect faith. He was known to be absolutely incorruptible, a patriot whom neither fear nor favor could move from his simple duty. In 1789 he brought forward a declaration of the rights of man, modeled closely after the Declaration of Independence, which was enthusiastically adopted by the National Assembly. Lafayette was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard of 300,000 citizens. For three years he held this dangerous post through a period of popular frenzy. He bravely resisted the maddened populace when they sought to murder the King. He saved the Queen from brutal murder in October, 1789, and stood between the raging mob and trembling men and women whose blood the populace clamored to drink. He many times risked his life to rescue others. He advocated in the Assembly the principles of a true republic, religious toleration, trial by jury, freedom of the press, abolition of titles, and the destruction of all special privileges to any class.

When the fury of the Revolution culminated in the march of the King and Queen to the scaffold, Lafayette quit France to the neutral province of Belgium. Here he was made prisoner and sent to Austria, where he was kept for five years in unwholesome prisons. In 1797 he was released by Napoleon. He returned to France when Napoleon was in his glory. But nothing could change his devotion to Republicanism. In 1803 he voted against the life consulate of the great Napoleon and later he voted against making him Emperor.

In 1824, upon the especial invitation of the President and Congress of the United States, he revisited this country as its guest, and his reception was the greatest ovation ever given by a free people. Congress voted him a gift of \$200,000 and a township of land. Old veterans and comrades in arms fainted from emotion at seeing their old commander.

Upon his return to France he was still active in public affairs, again taking command of the National Guard.

He died at Paris, May 20, 1834, full of years and of honor.

One of his biographers has beautifully said: "Lafayette in some sense was the product of happy fortunes—born of distinguished parentage, heir to an affluent estate, and an early favorite among the most important people of his country. But he owed his high place in the esteem of men chiefly to his own worthy achievements. He was a man of the purest ideals, living always for some principle that appealed to his noblest self. He was from first to last a lover of his fellow-men, an earnest worker for the renovation of society, a statesman whose motive no one in a time of unusual distrust, suspected. A citizen who did his duty without hesitation or fear, chivalrous to his enemies, unwavering in friendship and possessed of a humanity that embraced the whole world in its sympathy. He stood next to Washington in the affection of the American people, and he retained the respect and confidence of the people of his native France longer than any other citizen of that nation of great enthusiasm. He loved the favor of the people, but he loved more the virtues that made him worthy of it. No man on earth was braver than he, and no one was oftener put to the test, but he never failed. He was the loyal knight of

duty, the gentle friend of the needy, the steadfast soldier of progress, and foremost among the laureled leaders of liberty of man."

In concluding this imperfect story of so perfect a life a few lessons may be learned, applicable to our present time and need.

First. The love of liberty is not confined to any time or people. In every age and every clime the love of liberty has been the dream of the poet, the inspiration of the sage, and the immolation of the soldier. We are not the only people that love liberty and are willing to attain it by the sacrifice of our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor. The example of Lafayette should not be lost and has not been lost upon the American people. This stranger saw oppression, and with pure disinterestedness went to the help of those in need. So now the American people as a mass see that another nation is laying waste a beautiful island, destroying its enterprise, murdering its men, starving its children, outraging its women, and in the name of humanity and righteousness it has arisen like our hero Lafayette, and will fight for the oppressed and down-trodden of Cuba.

The people of Cuba for years have sighed and fought and starved for liberty. Life and liberty is as dear to General Gomez and his starving heroes as it was to General Washington and his patriotic army at Valley Forge. The oppression and tyranny inflicted upon our people, that gave rise to our American Revolution and birth to the immortal Declaration of Independence was but a shadow, alongside of the cowardly cruelty, the inexcusable tyranny, and the horrible massacre that the unnatural mother Spain has inflicted upon her child, the Pearl of the Antilles. Her rule has been a blot upon 19th century civilization, and a disgrace upon the Christianity she professes to be guided by. Her cup of iniquity is full, and, thank God, the nation for whom Lafayette suffered and bled has remembered his example and will soon whip Spain and set poor Cuba free.

Second. As Lafayette was to America a hero in war, so in his native France he was, in addi-

tion to being a hero in war, a patriot in peace, proving that peace has her victories no less renowned than war. In a long life devoted to his country in many civil trusts, he was always faithful. Let us emulate these virtues of peace. Our country in critical periods like the present asks of many of her sons that they die for her principles, and there has never been a dearth of those eager to respond to this high call; but let us also remember that at all times our country demands that we live for her. Our civil duties are as important as our military duties. Our country demands the best service, unselfish and patriotic. To hold a public office and perform its duties conscientiously is an honor to any man; but to obtain an office simply for its emoluments and for the collar of the boss surrounding the neck, is an everlasting disgrace. Next to defrauding God, defrauding country is the greatest sin.

Finally. Let us to-day rededicate ourselves to unfaltering loyalty and devotion to the Stars and Stripes under which Washington and Lafayette fought so nobly. There is no prouder ensign floats to the breezes. There never was a time when Old Glory was held in more universal esteem. From the time Betty Ross, in her little store on Arch street, Philadelphia, taught General George Washington and his committeemen how to cut a five-cornered star with a single clip of her scissors in her Quaker fingers up to the present it has been an ensign of honor and integrity. It floats to-day over a united people who know no North, no South, no East, no West. The battle flags of past discord are being returned. Every disability of those once in rebellion has been removed. It proudly waves to-day in the bay of Manila, and before the harvests are garnered it will as gloriously wave over Morro Castle, in the harbor of Havana, a message of peace and prosperity and liberty to the down-trodden of Cuba.

There are other flags that float over a larger expanse of territory, but none that covers so many free-born citizens as does Old Glory. There are other flags that boast of greater victories of war, but none that can claim so many victories of peace. There are other flags that mean more to monarchs, but none that mean so much to mankind.

LAFAYETTE WARREN HILL

BY IRVING WILLIAMS, Esq.



As the first and dreary winter of 1777 drew on, the British and the Continentals are used adverbially. We will admit, it did not have its parallel in all the Revolutionary wars—the news of the French alliance carried glad tidings into the hearts of all patriots. Washington's army proclaimed a day of general thanksgiving, and each man congratulated his neighbor. The beginning of the end was, at least, in sight. Robert Morris in a letter dated May 9, 1778, addressed to Washington, wrote: "While I congratulate your Excellency on the good news received from France, you will not expect my feelings. Were I in your company, I could show, but my pen cannot describe, the joy since I feel I give you joy. Our independence is secured, our country must be free." (See Sparks' Washington, v. 257, note.)

As a result, Washington believed that the British of necessity, be soon compelled to leave Philadelphia. From scouting parties of both armies had been driven down that portion of country between Philadelphia and Trenton. The British, on the other hand, the Americans were in the position of being driven back and forth, and the British were in the position of being driven back and forth.

have put the British in an uncomfortable position. LAFAYETTE IN 1824.

LAFAYETTE AT BARREN HILL.

BY IRVIN C. WILLIAMS, Esq.

As the long and dreary winter of 1777-1778 drew to its close,— and the adjectives are used advisedly, for, without doubt, it did not have its parallel in all the Revolutionary struggle,—the news of the French alliance carried hope and gladness into the hearts of all patriots. Washington at Valley Forge proclaimed a day of general rejoicing, bonfires were lighted, and each man congratulated his neighbor that the beginning of the end was, at least, in sight. Robert Morris in a letter dated May 9, 1778, addressed to Washington, says, "When I congratulate your Excellency on the great good news lately received from France, you will not expect me to express my feelings. Were I in your company, my countenance might show, but my pen cannot describe, them. Most sincerely do I give you joy. Our independence is undoubtedly assured; our country must be free." (See Sparks' Writings of Washington, v., 357, note.)

As a result, Washington believed that the British would, of necessity, be soon compelled to leave Philadelphia. Numerous scouting parties of both armies had been previously and were, at this time, marching up and down that portion of country between Valley Forge and Trenton, the British on foraging expeditions, and the Americans, to cut off the Englishmen, stop the contraband traffic, and spy upon the main body in Philadelphia. A French fleet at the mouth of the Delaware would have put the British commander into an uncomfortable position.

The map used herewith is a copy and enlargement of the one contained at page 328, Vol. I, of Mr. Charlemagne Tower's work, entitled, "The Marquis de la Fayette in the American Revolution."

In the preface of the book the author says he is indebted to Cornell University library for the use of the same. I am informed by Mr. Harris, the librarian at that institution, that the original map is not in their possession, but what they have is one of a series of nine maps from the Sparks collection, and is a copy of the original which, at the time the copy was made, was in the possession of Lafayette, and which was copied for Mr. Sparks under the Marquis' supervision.

Mr. Sparks went to France to gather material for his great American historical works. Speaking of his visit to Lafayette in 1828 he says: "The General has beautiful drawings of all the actions in which he was engaged in America, also a map of the Virginia campaign, taken at the time. . . . All these he allowed me to bring away from Lagrange and to procure them to be copied in Paris. I have left them with Mr. Daniel Low (Rue Faubourg Poissonnier No. 35), who will have them all copied for me under the eye of General Lafayette." (Adams—Life of Jared Sparks, Vol. II, p. 117). Mr. Harris further says, "The explanations in French . . . were probably written, or dictated, by Lafayette himself for the original map."

Accordingly, to inform himself of what was being done by the enemy, Washington determined to throw forward a more important reconnoitering party than any hitherto, the members of it being specially selected for the mission. The number of men in the detachment is variously stated. Mr. Tower in his work above mentioned places it at "about twenty-two hundred men." Lossing in "Field Book," vol. 2, p. 328, says about 2100 men. Chief Justice Marshall in his "Life of Washington," vol. 3, p. 446, says, "somewhat more than two thousand choice troops." Stedman, in a work the title page of which reads, "The History of the Origin, Progress, and Termination of the American War, by C. Stedman, who served under Sir W. Howe, Sir H. Clinton, and the Marquis Corn-

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wallis," printed at Dublin in 1794, places the number at nearly 3000 men (Vol. I, p. 419). Lafayette himself in marginal notes on the map above noticed, says "un detachment de 2200 hommes," a detachment of 2200 men. Mr. Levi Streeper, an honored member of this Society, in a paper which is valuable for its neighborhood traditions and which was read at a Barren Hill meeting of the Society two or more years ago, fixes the number at 2500 men. They had with them a few pieces of artillery. Lafayette represents pictorially five guns on the map, and in his "Memoirs" says he had five cannon. Lossing, the same number. Chief Justice Marshall says a "few pieces of cannon." Stedman says "six field pieces," while Mr. Streeper makes the number eight. Lafayette, who at this time was not quite 21 years old, was placed in command of the detachment, and personally led the main body. General Poor had a portion under his command, there was a band of about 600 Pennsylvania militia under Captain Potter—Lafayette gives the name as Porter—Captain McLean's independent company, and fifty Indians.

The commander in chief gave to Lafayette instructions, as follows (See Sparks, Writings of Washington, v., 368):

"Sir:—The detachment under your command, with which you will immediately march towards the enemy's lines, is designed to answer the following purposes; namely, to be a security to this camp and a cover to the country between the Delaware and the Schuylkill, to interrupt the communication with Philadelphia, to obstruct the incursions of the enemy's parties, and to obtain intelligence of their motions and designs. This last is a matter of very interesting moment, and ought to claim your particular attention. You will endeavor to procure trusty and intelligent spies, who will advise you faithfully of whatever may be passing in the city, and you will without delay communicate to me every piece of material information you obtain.

"A variety of concurring accounts make it probable that the enemy are preparing to evacuate Philadelphia. This is a point, which it is of the utmost importance to ascertain; and, if possible, the place of their future destination. Should you be able to gain certain intelligence of the time of their intended embarkation, so that you may be able to take advantage of it,

and fall upon the rear of the enemy in the act of withdrawing, it will be a very desirable event. But this will be a matter of no small difficulty, and will require the greatest caution and prudence in the execution. Any deception or precipitation may be attended with the most disastrous consequences.

"You will remember that your detachment is a very valuable one, and that any accident happening to it would be a very severe blow to this army. You will therefore use every possible precaution for its security, and to guard against a surprise. No attempt should be made, nor anything risked, without the greatest prospect of success, and with every reasonable advantage on your side. I shall not point out any precise position to you, but shall leave it to your discretion to take such posts occasionally as shall appear to you best adapted to the purposes of your detachment. In general, I would observe that a stationary post is unadvisable, as it gives the enemy an opportunity of knowing your situation, and concerting plans successfully against you. In case of any offensive movement against this army, you will keep yourself in such a state as to have an easy communication with it, and at the same time harass the enemy's advance.

"Our parties of horse and foot between the rivers are to be under your command, and to form part of your detachment. As great complaints have been made of the disorderly conduct of the parties, which have been sent towards the enemy's lines, it is expected that you will be very attentive in preventing abuses of the like nature, and will inquire how far complaints already made are founded in justice.

"Given under my hand, at Head Quarters, this 18th day of May, 1778."

About midnight on the 18th of May, 1778, Lafayette, with his command, left the camp at Valley Forge, moving down the Schuylkill. He crossed the river at Swedes' Ford, now Norristown, and thence by the Ridge road marched toward Philadelphia to a point eleven miles out from the city. Here was a village consisting of a few stone houses, a church and a grave-yard, and was called Barren Hill. Colonel Bean, in his "Footprints of the Revolution," says the crossing to the east side of the Schuylkill was made at Matson's Ford, Conshohocken. The probabilities seem to be in favor of the former, Swedes' Ford. It was the ford most frequently used at the time, it had an easier approach than the latter, and was the

one to which Lafayette would have retreated had he not been cut off in the rear.

Arriving at Barren Hill, which he found admirably situated for his purposes, he placed the main body of his command in position a few hundred yards west and southwest of the church just off the Ridge road, supported by a heavy wood, the right flank resting on the river, and protected by the bluff, the left, on the Ridge road, screened by the stone houses. His five pieces of artillery were placed in advance of the line, where they commanded the Ridge road, the main highway from Philadelphia. Pickets were advanced along the road for a distance of two miles, this duty being performed by Captain McLean and the Indians.

Believing that the right flank and front were well protected from surprise, there only remained the guarding of the left flank, and this duty was intrusted to General Potter, with his company of 600 Pennsylvania militia. They took the post near what is now the Bethlehem pike, on the main road running from Swedes' Ford to Whitemarsh, and as this was also the intersection of the roads leading to Philadelphia, it was believed this guard would be able to detect any body of the enemy marching east of the Ridge road.

In the meantime Lafayette's presence and position were promptly reported at Philadelphia by spies. General Clinton had arrived to take the place of General Howe, who was about to retire to England.

As a fitting reception to the new commander and farewell to the old, that remarkable fete known as the Meschianza was projected and held on the 18th of May, 1778. (See Anne Hollingsworth Wharton's "Through Colonial Doorways," p. 23; Watson's Annals, and Moore's "Diary of the American Revolution," Vol. II, p. 52, for a full description of this unique celebration.) In the midst of the festivities firing was heard to the north. Captain McLean and his scouts were making their presence known, to the discomfiture of the British officers.

General Clinton thereupon determined upon Lafayette's capture, and so certain was he of being able to encircle the young Frenchman with his net that Lafayette relates Clinton

invited a company of ladies and gentlemen to meet the Marquis on the return to Philadelphia.

Accordingly General Grant, with a large force of men, was dispatched northward by the way of Frankford, making a long detour, and arrived at Whitmarsh about midnight of the 19th. Lafayette in his "Memoirs" places the number of troops with Grant at 7000, with 14 cannon; Mr. Tower makes the number 8000, made up of regular troops, Hessians, and 15 pieces of artillery. Mr. Tower is corroborated in this by the Sparks map. Stedman says Grant had 5000, and that they marched along a road close to the Delaware. General Grey, with a force of about 2000, moved out through Germantown and approached the left wing of Lafayette from the southeast. I think there is no doubt that Grey marched over this route. Stedman differs most seriously in saying that "a strong detachment under General Grey had marched from Philadelphia along the western branch of the Schuylkill and stationed themselves at a ford two or three miles in front of Lafayette's right flank, whilst the remainder of the British army advanced to Chestnut Hill." Lossing says that General Grey crossed to the west bank of the Schuylkill. Chief Justice Marshall seems to have followed Stedman on this point, for he says, "General Grey advanced along the south side of the Schuylkill and took post at a ford two or three miles in front of the right flank of Lafayette." (Life of Washington, Vol. III, p. 447. et seq.)

But later on, Marshall seems to contradict himself as to Grey's position, for having stated that Lafayette pushed forward a small party into the church yard, he says this was "on the road towards General Grey, which also gave the appearance of an intention to attack in that quarter." This would certainly be in the opposite direction from the point just indicated.

The main body of the British troops advanced from Philadelphia along the Ridge road, passing the Falls of Schuylkill, and keeping close to the river. Generals Howe and Clinton commanded in person and they were accompanied by Lord Admiral Howe, the General's brother.

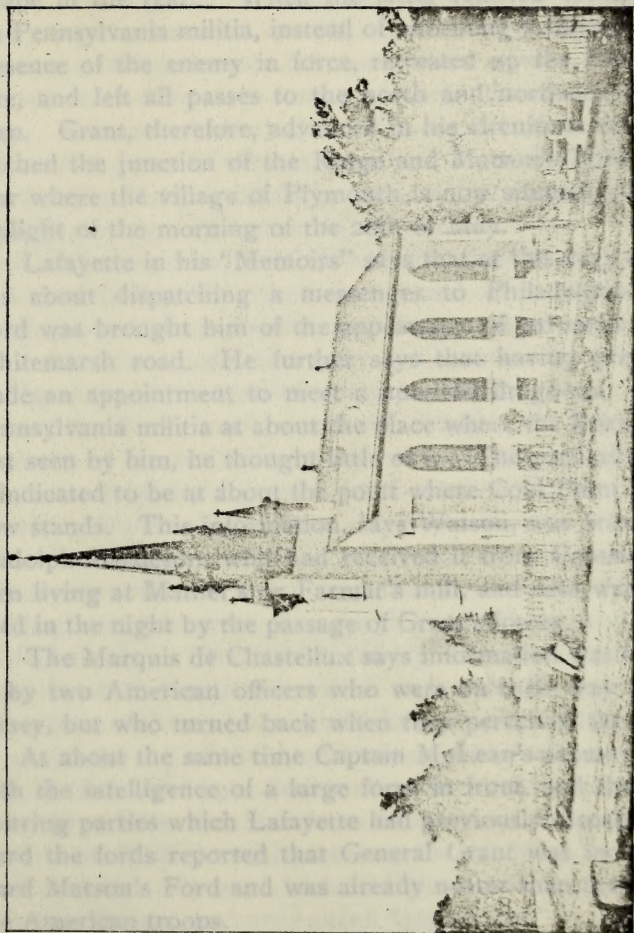
The plan of capture was one that could not have failed of success had it not been for mistakes on their part. Howe and Clinton with the main body guarded the road in front; Gray shut off a movement toward Germantown and Whitemarsh, while Grant was to have completely sealed up all avenues of escape in the rear. When the latter reached Whitemarsh, the Pennsylvania militia, instead of being drawn up in the presence of the enemy in force, retreated up the Whitemarsh road, and left all passes to the British and now nearly open. Grant, therefore, advancing in his accustomed manner, reached the junction of the Whitemarsh and Matson roads, near where the village of Pymouth is now situated, about daylight on the morning of the 26th.

Lafayette in his "Memoirs" says that he was about dispatching a messenger to Philadelphia when word was brought him of the retreat of the British on the Whitemarsh road. He further says that he had previously made an appointment to meet the Pennsylvania militia at about the place where the church now stands. The first sight of the British, he thought, was indicated to be at the spot where the church now stands. The British were then living at Matson's Ford, and a messenger sent in the night by the passage of Grant.

The Marquis de Chastellux says that he was taken into custody by two American officers who were sent to the Jersey, but who turned back when they found the British.

At about the same time Captain Mifflin, with the intelligence of a large force of British moving parties which Lafayette had previously reported toward the fords reported that General Grant was moving toward Matson's Ford and was already in possession of the American troops.

With a remarkably quick perception of the situation, Lafayette turned his front, and sent a detachment to Barren Hill Church, which, being surrounded by a stone wall, offered a good position for the British to take. The British then moved and faced about to the east and southeast to halt Gray's



ST. PETER'S CHURCH, BARREN HILL.

From Photograph by S. R. Fisher.

The plan of capture was one that could not have failed of success had it not been for mistakes on their part. Howe and Clinton with the main body guarded the road in front; Grey shut off a movement toward Germantown and Whitemarsh, while Grant was to have completely sealed up all avenues of escape in the rear. When the latter reached Whitemarsh, the Pennsylvania militia, instead of informing Lafayette of the presence of the enemy in force, retreated up the Bethlehem pike, and left all passes to the north and northeast entirely open. Grant, therefore, advanced in his circuitous route and reached the junction of the Ridge and Matson's Ford roads, near where the village of Plymouth is now situated, at about daylight of the morning of the 20th of May.

Lafayette in his "Memoirs" says that at this very time he was about dispatching a messenger to Philadelphia, when word was brought him of the appearance of red coats on the Whitemarsh road. He further says that having previously made an appointment to meet a hundred dragoons of the Pennsylvania militia at about the place where the British were first seen by him, he thought little of it. The particular place is indicated to be at about the point where Cold Point Church now stands. This information, says Watson, was brought by Rudolph Bartleson, who had received it from Captain Stoy, then living at Mather's or Farmar's mill, and who was awakened in the night by the passage of Grant's forces.

The Marquis de Chastellux says information was brought in by two American officers who were on their way to New Jersey, but who turned back when they perceived the enemy.

At about the same time Captain McLean's scouts came in with the intelligence of a large force in front, and the reconnoitring parties which Lafayette had previously dispatched toward the fords reported that General Grant was moving toward Matson's Ford and was already nearer than the body of the American troops.

With a remarkably quick perception of the situation, Lafayette turned his front, and sent a detachment to Barren Hill Church, which, being surrounded by a stone wall, offered cover, and faced about to the east and southeast to halt Grey's

advance. At the same time heads of columns were sent out through the woods toward the van of Grant's forces, to impress the General with the idea that a large force was opposing him. This ruse had its effect. It served to halt Grant's advance, and while a council was held by the English to determine which road should be taken, Lafayette quietly but rapidly moved down toward the river, passed Spring Mill, thence followed the river to Matson's Ford, in time to cross before the enemy came up. Lafayette had at the very beginning sent General Poor with a part of the command and the artillery toward the ford. The Marquis himself conducted the march of the rear guard, having withdrawn the detachment about the church and McLean's command. When they arrived at the bank of the river General Poor had crossed and taken position on the high ground where West Conshohocken now stands.

After the consultation between Grant and his officers, this body of troops, instead of going forward to the ford, turned down the Ridge road toward the church. At this point the column of General Clinton was met coming up. Lafayette's retreat was partly concealed by the woods and the depressed roads. Grant believed from the deliberateness of his march that Washington and the whole American army was at hand to support him. When it was discovered that Lafayette had slipped away from them, a party was sent to overtake him. Stedman says, "The British having advanced to the church and found the camp abandoned, undertook the pursuit of the enemy by the very track which Lafayette had taken."

As the last of the Americans crossed the ford the van of the British came up. Seeing that the crossing would be contested, and that the Americans occupied an advantageous position, the English cavalry gave up the pursuit. To use words of Lafayette, they went back to Philadelphia "very tired, very much ashamed, and very much laughed at."

Stedman says that as the column of the British advanced, "it was discovered by glasses from the camp of General Washington who, by the firing of cannon, attempted to give his detachment notice of the danger." John Marshall, who was

with Washington at Valley Forge, says that the commander-in-chief rode to the top of the hill where the huts were placed, looked anxiously in the direction of Barren Hill, and caused alarm guns to be fired; and that the "whole army was put under arms." Lafayette, in his "Memoirs," says "three cannon were fired from Valley Forge." The Marquis de Chastellux places the number of alarm guns at six. This probably includes those fired by Lafayette.

Nearly all the writers agree that the retreat was conducted in good order, albeit in haste. Stedman's account differs somewhat; but his story possibly ought to be taken *cum grano salis*, for being an Englishman, probably having participated in this very maneuver, as I apprehend he did, and doubtless desiring to excuse the fiasco in some degree, says that after the British had taken a hill between the two roads from which they looked down upon the retreating Americans, "the disorder and precipitation apparent in the rear of that column sufficiently indicated the terror with which they were attempting their escape."

The accounts of the actual crossing of the river are also somewhat conflicting. The Marquis de Chastellux says he "passed the river with all his artillery without losing a man." In one of the fragmental writings attached to Lafayette's "Memoirs" it is stated, "By these maneuvers we gained the ford, and passed it in the presence of the enemy, without losing a single man." Stedman says they "hurried across the river, leaving behind them the six field pieces which they had brought from camp to the bank of the river"; and that afterward parties of observation recrossed to retard the British vanguard until the cannon could be brought over. This writer also says that the British cavalry took or killed about forty. Lafayette upon his return to camp, no doubt gave a full and detailed report to his commander in chief, and we find Washington, under date of May 24, 1778, writing to the President of Congress, as follows (See Sparks' Writings of Washington, v., 377): "On the night of the 19th the enemy moved out in force against the detachment under the Marquis de Lafayette, mentioned in my letter of the 18th, which made a timely and

handsome retreat in great order over the Schuylkill at Matson's Ford. Our loss was nine men in the whole. The enemy's loss is supposed to be something more. Their march was circuitous and rapid, and I should imagine many of their men suffered from it. General Clinton, it is said, commanded in person." Lossing is authority for the statement that the British lost two light horsemen killed and several wounded.

Lafayette remained on the south side of Matson's Ford all night. On the 21st he recrossed the river, says Mr. Tower, marched to Barren Hill, where he took his original position, and then proceeded northward over the road by which he originally came, the Ridge road, crossed the river at Swedes' Ford, and returned to the camp at Valley Forge, where they were welcomed back with every demonstration of pleasure.

While investigating this subject, I happened upon an account of this incident written by a person who actually took part in the affair. While Lafayette's account is concise, this adds some details not therein contained. It is also by a Frenchman.

The Chevalier de Pontgibaud came to America some time in the fall of the year 1777. His ship was sunken in the Chesapeake Bay. He escaped to the shore, obtained a pass from Thomas Jefferson, made his way to Valley Forge, where Lafayette investigated his story, and finding it true, made him an aide-de-camp on his staff. Some years after he returned to France he wrote the story of his experiences in America, in a work in French, entitled "A Volunteer of the War of Independence." This work has been made accessible to English readers by a translation, printed at Paris about a year ago.

In his account of the adventure at Barren Hill, the Chevalier says:

"General Washington — partly out of friendship and partly from policy—was anxious to afford the Marquis de la Fayette every opportunity to distinguish himself, and ordered him to take a strong body of troops and cross the Schuylkill, at a spot on the left of the British position, and cut off their rear guard, if the opportunity should occur. La Fayette had already brilliantly distinguished himself at the Battle of Brandywine, where he had received a ball in the leg.

"We left about midnight, silently crossed the Schuylkill, and took up a position in a wood very close to Philadelphia, in order to be able to reconnoitre the enemy at daybreak, and attack if we had the chance. The main body of our army was ready to support us in less than two hours if we signalled for help.

"The British, who had spies amongst our men, were soon informed of our plans. The greater part of their army was still in Philadelphia; they made a sortie, carried the weak post we had established on the banks of the Schuylkill to secure our retreat, and then marched in our rear, hoping to catch us between two fires. Our little army, ignorant of the danger of the position, was about to be caught in a trap.

"It happened otherwise, however. We had bivouacked and were resting, and waiting for daybreak.

"Fortunately, a surgeon had heard—I do not know how,—of this night march of the garrison of Philadelphia to cut off our retreat and take us in the rear. In the interests of his own safety, most probably, he had searched along the banks of the river and had found a ford where there was only three or four feet of water. I was lying on the ground, near our General, when the Esculapius came up and whispered the information he had found out, and the discovery of the ford, of which we did not suspect the existence. La Fayette, awakened by the sound of our voices, asked what was the matter, and made the surgeon repeat what he had already told me. Our General was admirably cool, and showed that presence of mind so valuable in a commander in a time of danger. He quietly told the surgeon to return to his post, and as soon as he had left, ordered me to mount my horse, and see for myself if the information was true. I did not go very far before I ascertained that Esculapius was quite correct. I saw the head of a moving column, so I returned at full speed. The next moment the order to march was given, and our retreat was effected quietly and promptly, and our little army crossed the Schuylkill in good order, by the ford which the surgeon had discovered. We were drawn up in order on the right bank, and made the signals previously agreed upon. Our soldiers believed that the march and countermarch formed part of a strategic movement. The enemy did not dare to show himself, being afraid of being caught in a snare.

"Our expedition, which had served to puzzle the enemy, and our cleverly executed retreat, brought a good deal of praise to our general, which, to say the truth, he deserved; but thanks were also due to the cautious and watchful sur-

geon who found the ford so opportunely;—nothing was said about *him*, however.”

Very little is known of the Indians who accompanied this expedition, except that they were fifty in number. The tribe to which they belonged is, however, probably established with certainty. Lafayette, in his marginal map notes, calls them Iroquois. This is no doubt correct. We are left to infer to which of the six nations they belonged. Mr. Streeper, in his paper before referred to, calls them Oneidas. Watson, in his “Annals,” likewise calls them Oneidas. If they were Iroquois, they were probably Oneidas or Tuscaroras; for at the beginning of the Revolution, when the question of declaring for their old ally, the English, came before the Council, the Oneidas alone resisted the proposition as unwise. As a result it was determined that each nation should decide for itself upon which side it should cast its fortunes. The Onondagas, the Cayugas, the Senecas, and the Mohawks, allied themselves with the British. Their barbarous border warfare occupies a prominent place in Revolutionary history. The Oneidas remained friendly to the Americans throughout the struggle. The Tuscaroras, who were received as the sixth tribe of the Iroquois in 1712, were assigned lands next to and upon a part of the Oneida reservation. As they were practically strangers, they took no important part in the councils of the league, and were largely under the tutelage and control of the Oneidas. (See Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, p. 28; Schoolcraft, *Notes on the Iroquois*, p. 86.)

Mr. Harris, the librarian of Cornell University, makes the suggestion that possibly Lafayette’s Indians were from the neighborhood of Stockbridge, Mass. In a letter dated September 13, 1780, addressed to the President of Congress, and found in Sparks’ *Writings of Washington*, Vol. VII, pp. 203-4, Washington says that Captain Hendricks Solomon, of Stockbridge, and twenty of his tribe served with the army since July of that year: that “Captain Solomon with part of these people was with us in the year 1778.” In a note by Mr. Sparks, it is said, “Several of the Stockbridge Indians were engaged at the beginning of the war, while the army was at Cambridge,

and were in active service at different times. There was a party of Indians with Lafayette in the affair at Barren Hill."

The Chevalier de Pontgibaud, in the work just referred to, speaking of the attempt to invade Canada with a force which Lafayette was to command, and of the journey to Albany in midwinter, says (page 47):

"But before undertaking any measures we thought it prudent to make a treaty with the savage races who live on the borders of Canada and New England.

"After resting some days in the town of Albany, we went up Mohawk river to the house of Mr. Johnston, whose residence was close to the huts of the various tribes known under the names of Tuscaroras, Oneidas, etc. We were prepared with the usual presents required to conciliate them, and in this case it might be said that little presents cement great friendships. Our gifts, which they thought magnificent, consisted of woolen blankets, little mirrors, and, above all, plenty of paint, which the savages esteem highly and use to paint their faces. There was also some gunpowder, lead and bullets, and some silver crowns of six francs bearing the effigy of the King of France, who is known to these savages, by tradition, as the 'Great Father.'

"About two thousand Indians, men and women, came to the appointed rendezvous, and thanks to our presents and the 'fire water' which we distributed, the treaty was easily concluded. . . . We left these tribes equally satisfied on both sides. The projected attack on Canada was postponed, for some reason of which I am ignorant, and we returned to the Camp at Valley Forge.

"I remarked, however, that even in treating with these children of nature, there was a reciprocal distrust and an impression that caution was the mother of safety, for we brought with us fifty of the young warriors as a guarantee that the treaty should be duly executed, and one of our men remained with the Indians as a hostage—it was not I."

The Chevalier then states that later some of these Indians joined the army.

During the attempt to entrap Lafayette at Barren Hill an incident occurred concerning these Indians worthy of mention. I quote from the account of the Marquis de Chastellux:

"General Howe's column was not long in reaching the advanced posts of M. de la Fayette, which gave rise to a laughable-enough adventure. The fifty savages he had with him

were placed in ambuscade, in the woods, after their manner; that is to say, lying as close as rabbits. Fifty English dragoons, who had never seen an Indian, marching at the head of the column, entered the wood where they were hid, who on their part had never seen dragoons. Up they start, raising a horrible cry, throw down their arms, and escape by swimming across the Schuylkill. The dragoons, on the other hand, as much terrified as they (the Indians) were, turned about their horses and did not recover their panic till they got back to Philadelphia."

It is regarded a great military mistake for a commander to permit an enemy to get into his rear unperceived. The part the Pennsylvania militia played in this drama has never been satisfactorily explained. When General Grant arrived at the Skippack road and Bethlehem pike junction, the militia retreated up the pike, never so much as firing a gun, so far as we know, to alarm the camp of Lafayette. This, of course, permitted Grant to pass unmolested over the very road upon which the militia had been stationed for the purpose of guarding it. These same militia were a short time previously, while under the command of General Lacey, roundly beaten at the Crooked Billet, losing all their camp equipage. An explanation of their conduct now might be that they did not care to renew their Crooked Billet experiences.

Many traditions of Lafayette's escape have been preserved to us. Tradition is at all times intensely interesting; but it is only fact that the historian can make use of with certainty. The paper by Mr. Yeakle published in the first volume of the transactions of this Society, the paper of Mr. Streeper, before referred to, and a part of Watson, the annalist's account, are valuable and interesting for their traditions.

After the dismal failure of Grant's expedition, the British themselves sought to belittle the whole affair, and affected to speak of it with fine scorn. The "Royal Pennsylvania Gazette" contained the following: "Intelligence being received that Mr. Washington and his tattered retinue had abandoned their mud holes and were on the march to Germantown, a detachment of British and Hessian troops went out to meet and escort them into the city; but the rebels, being apprised of

their approach, flew back with precipitation to what they call their camp, determined to act no further on the offensive than might be consistent with their personal safety."

The Marquis de Chastellux, in closing his account of the retreat, says, "The ladies did not see M. de la Fayette, and General Howe himself arrived too late for supper."

By the masterly manner in which the retreat was conducted, honor was saved to the army; what would have been a disastrous blow was averted; and the Marquis de Lafayette won for himself and his troops the unselfish praise of his commander-in-chief and the admiration of the whole army.

[Read before the Historical Society at Barren Hill, May 21, 1898]

sonville, a little creek has its source, which then flows southward for a distance of one-half mile and empties into the Schuylkill river. Ages of wear by these running waters have worn here a narrow valley, which on either side is bordered with verdant hills rising with a gradual slope to a height of probably fifty feet or more above the bed of the narrow stream. This little creek is fed entirely by several strong flowing springs of water from (what was known during the Revolutionary period) the Col. Robert Curry and the Henry Rittenhouse farms.

On the northern slope and at the headwaters of the little creek, stood the log house of Col. Robert Curry. A little further southward nearly directly opposite and erected on the eastern slope, within a dell, stood the log house of Henry Rittenhouse, making these two families near neighbors.

Henry Rittenhouse purchased his farm from Archibald Thompson, Jr., May 21st, 1773. Archibald Thompson, Jr.'s father, whose name was also Archibald Thompson, purchased this land in two tracts from the Norries—one tract of 126½ acres, March 23, 1743; another tract of 90 acres, October 23, 1743—making a total of over 216 acres.

When Henry Rittenhouse purchased this land, the property was improved with a log house and a log barn, and considerable of the land was cleared of its timber and under cultivation. The boundaries of this tract of land at this time would be the Cape Hall road on the west, the Schuylkill on the

THE HENRY RITTENHOUSE FARM.

BY DR. W. H. REED.

In Norriton township a short distance south of Jeffersonville, a little creek has its source, which then flows southward for a distance of one-half mile and empties into the Schuylkill river. Ages of wear by these running waters have worn here a narrow valley, which on either side is bordered with verdant hills rising with a gradual slope to a height of probably fifty feet or more above the bed of the narrow stream. This little creek is fed entirely by several strong flowing springs of water from (what was known during the Revolutionary period) the Col. Robert Curry and the Henry Rittenhouse farms.

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When Henry Rittenhouse purchased this land, the property was improved with a log house and a log barn, and considerable of the land was cleared of its timber and under cultivation. The boundaries of this tract of land at this time would be the White Hall road on the west, the Schuylkill on the

south, Montgomery Cemetery on the east, and the Hartranft and William Rittenhouse, Jr., farms on the north.

The major part of this tract of land is still in possession of the Rittenhouse family; the remainder is in possession of the Riverside Cemetery and others. These farms, while owned by the Rittenhouse family, were always looked upon by others as of the most fertile in the Schuylkill valley. The land is rolling, sufficiently so for excellent natural drainage for farming purposes. There are upon them a number of excellent springs of running water, which have always furnished a natural water supply of purity in abundance. The altitude of the farm is such, too, that the high waters from the Schuylkill do not overflow it to any extent.

Henry Rittenhouse, Sr., was a relative of the astronomer, David Rittenhouse, and removed here with his family in 1773 from Worcester township, this county. He was a farmer by occupation. His wife's maiden name was Sophia Ernhart, and they had issue six children, namely: Christopher, born January 3, 1752; William, born August 12, 1754; Wilhelmina, born August 3, 1759; David, born August 3, 1763; Joseph, born May 20, 1766; Henry, Jr., born January 17, 1773.

During the Revolutionary War the sons, Christopher and William, were members of Captain Trump's company of militia, of Norrington township, Philadelphia county, now Norriton township, Montgomery county.

Family tradition relates the following incident bearing on the Revolution: After Washington's defeat at the battle of Brandywine, he fell back with his troops toward Warwick furnace, Chester county, and Pottstown, in this county. General Howe's army proposed crossing the river Schuylkill at Swedes' ford (Norristown), and entering Philadelphia. When General Howe made his appearance with his troops on the west side of the river at this point he found the American troops entrenched on the opposite shore, which defeated his object. He then moved his troops further up the river and crossed at Fatland (Valley Forge), and Gordon's (Phoenixville) fords, and moved southward leisurely in the direction of Philadelphia. It was during this movement that Col. Dewees'

Forge, Col. Thompson's Inn at Jeffersonville, and Col. Bull's dwelling and mills at Norristown were burned by these troops. Part of General Howe's troops encamped for the night on the banks of Stony (creek) run (now) Norristown. At this time some of General Howe's troops visited Henry Rittenhouse's home. It was daytime. On seeing the British approach the Rittenhouse boys that were home took flight to the woods skirting the river, and hid in the bushes, which left the house in charge of the women. At the time but a lass—the great-grandmother of our townsman Benjamin F. Whitby—was on a visit to the Rittenhouses. Upon her seeing the appearance of the red coats, she became very much alarmed. Mother Rittenhouse, noticing the young lady's frightened condition, quickly opened a closet door in the room and pushed the girl within, closing the door, and then shoved a large cupboard, standing in the room, in front of the same, completely obscuring the closet from view. The soldiers soon were on the scene and commenced ransacking the house. They found nothing of importance. Becoming gruff and impatient, they demanded that the cupboard door be opened, which was at the time locked. Finding no quick response to their demands, they split the door with an axe. Finding nothing within of interest, they demanded something to eat, which was reluctantly given them. Then taking up some wearing apparel belonging to the family, the British departed. After this Mrs. Rittenhouse and her family felt much relieved. The young lady was then released from her hiding place, and the boys returned to their home from the woods, and peace and serenity once more reigned supremely over the previously disturbed home.

Henry Rittenhouse, Sr., in 1791, was assessed a cripple. In 1794 he died, and his oldest son, Christopher, became owner of the homestead.

In 1795 Christopher Rittenhouse improved his property by the erection thereon of a large stone dwelling and barn to supercede the log buildings, and made other material improvements, much enhancing its assessed valuation, which the records show.

About 1807 Christopher Rittenhouse erected a large

stone dwelling and barn on a knoll on the southwestern portion of his farm. These, with fifty acres of land, were sold subsequently to his brother, Joseph Rittenhouse, a weaver by trade. These old farm buildings stood near by and were the ones that were torn down several years ago, to make way for the entrance to the Riverside Cemetery. Subsequently, Joseph Rittenhouse purchased more land from his brother, thereby enlarging the extent of his farm. Here he carried on farming in conjunction with his trade of weaving; this latter occupation quite extensively. Joseph Rittenhouse erected a special building for weaving purposes, in which he had placed a number of hand looms, and engaged additional help to ply this industry. He also took apprentices to learn them the science and art of weaving. At this place and quite extensively, too, Joseph Rittenhouse for many years wove both linen and woolen fabrics.

About 1808 Christopher Rittenhouse erected on his farm a two-story stone dwelling house, on the summit of the slope by the edge of the woods, skirting the Schuylkill river. In this building for many years a widowed sister by the name of Brown resided. This house during my childhood days was fast passing into decay from neglect, and was generally known as the "haunted house" by the boys of the neighboring village.

Previous to the building of the dams in the Schuylkill river shad fisheries on the same were quite numerous. A fishery of great importance was located here on the Rittenhouse farm. Suitable buildings to conduct such were erected near the water's edge, and during the "shad run" the Rittenhouses drove a thriving and profitable business. The neighboring and inland farmers would flock here during shad season for their supplies of shad—fresh fish for immediate use—and those left over would be preserved for future needs with salt and smoke.

On a high bank by the water's edge of the Schuylkill, a few rods east of the mouth of the creek which passes through the western edge of the farm, stood for many years a neglected and dilapidated lime kiln. This kiln was erected early in this century by Christopher Rittenhouse, who had conveyed lime

stone here on flat-bottomed boats on the river Schuylkill from Port Kennedy quarries, which was burned into lime for building and fertilizing purposes. The building of the Schuylkill Valley Railroad some few years ago completely obliterated this old ruin.

Like many of the older people engaged in agricultural pursuits in the beginning of the present century, Christopher Rittenhouse was one of that number who owned and in season conducted a small distillery, in which was manufactured "apple jack," for domestic use only. The distillery was located at the base of the hill several hundred yards below his dwelling. The water from the strong flowing spring near his house was ditched by gravity to the distillery, thence through a wooden trough it was conveyed over the condensing worm of the still—an essential feature during the process of distillation. The depression in the ground from the foundation of the still house can yet be plainly seen.

During the season of operation of the distillery was a gala time for the boys. It is said, about this time, chicken nests were visited by poachers. The eggs were roasted in the furnace fire, and feasted upon by the attendants to still during the long hours of night work.

By the still house stood another building designated as the "flaxbrake"—a building in which the flax was submitted to the various processes necessary to shape it up for the spinning wheel and reel, and for weaving. In front of the flax building was a low, flat and wet piece of ground, where the raw flax was first spread to soften and rid it of its bark and soft cellular tissue—one of the first processes necessary in the course of its preparation for spinning and weaving purposes.

Christopher Rittenhouse's property was cut off from the public highway (Ridge road) by an intervening strip of land until 1807. During his egress and ingress, he was compelled to pass over private property, for a lane or roadway. In this year the Court of Quarter Sessions of Montgomery county was appealed to for relief. In said petition it recites "That Christopher Rittenhouse is owner of a farm west of the Reading

road, and that those owning lands east of him threaten to close the same with a fence with the intention of farming the land, which would shut him off from a public thoroughfare," etc. A jury was appointed, who viewed the same, reported favorably to the court, and the present "Whitehall" road to the Schuylkill river was then opened for public use.

In 1812 another petition was presented to the court, which recites: "That the benefits of your petitioners as well as the community at large . . . would be greatly furthered if the said (Whitehall) road would be extended by the nearest and best route so as to intersect the public road leading from Swedes' Ford road to Valley Forge on the west side of the Schuylkill river, etc. . . ." The jury that was appointed laid out a road leading from Swedes' Ford and Valley Forge road, commencing at a point near the present Merion station, then running northeast to the west bank of the Schuylkill river, thence easterly through the west channel and across the east channel of said river to the eastern bank, and there connected with the (Whitehall) public road.

This ford, I am informed, was not a safe one to use at all seasons of the year. When the river ran full, the channels became too deep for safety to the traveling public. When the Swede street dam was built in 1819, from the great depth of back water this produced this ford became entirely useless; besides, this portion of Barbadoes island which the road passed over became entirely submerged. This obliteration of the ford has since made the "Whitehall" road useless to the traveling public beyond the lane leading into the Rittenhouse farm buildings.

Christopher Rittenhouse died in 1822, and his brother David succeeded as owner of the homestead. David Rittenhouse by occupation was also a farmer. Some years previous to his acquisition of the homestead he married Rachel Zimmerman, and to this union were born the following children: Charlotte, Susan, William, Christopher, Sophia, Henry and David, Jr.

During David Rittenhouse's ownership of the farm, the Schuylkill Navigation Company was created. It is said, not until 1825 were horses used to draw the boats through the wa-

ter up and down the river. About this period a local ferry was located on the Rittenhouse property. Here teams that traversed the "Whitehall" road, and the navigation boat mules and horses were ferried across the river. The ferry buildings were located on the Rittenhouse farm on a line of Joseph and David Rittenhouse properties. The exact spot of this ferry would make its present location border on the Schuylkill river, but a short distance west of the tack works that are located on the Land Improvement property. David Rittenhouse started this ferry; he erected the necessary buildings, etc., and as the navigation business at this time was on the ascendancy he soon drove a thriving and profitable business; and as a result this franchise soon became valuable, selling in 1835 for three thousand dollars. It was purchased at this time by William McFadden, storekeeper, of Manayunk, Pa., from Benjamin Spare. Spare purchased the same property from David Rittenhouse the year previous or in 1834. McFadden drove a thriving business here for several years. In conjunction with the ferry he opened a store, selling supplies and general merchandise to boatmen and others. Some few years later, Swede street dam at Norristown was raised in height to deepen the channel of the river above for larger boats. By doing this the tow-path was changed from the east to the west bank of the river, thereby invalidating McFadden's ferry. The franchise now became worthless and McFadden then disposed of his property to Joseph Rittenhouse for six hundred dollars. This transfer took place in 1841. There is nothing of this old ferry now remaining to mark the location of this once enterprising place.

David Rittenhouse died in 1848. He was succeeded in ownership of this old homestead by his oldest son, William Rittenhouse. William Rittenhouse was born at the homestead on August 3, 1803. In 1831 he wedded Susanna Highley. To this union were born seven children, George W., Rachel, Mary, Charlotte, David, William, Jr., and Susan. William Rittenhouse, Sr., died at the homestead in 1891. The major part of the original farm is still owned by the Rittenhouse heirs—noting a continuous family proprietorship for a period of one hundred and twenty-five years.

[Read before the Historical Society at Norristown, January 29, 1898.]

FIRST TROOP OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY CAVALRY.

BY HON. JONES DETWILER.

This troop, or company, of cavalry was first organized immediately after the county was formed, in 1784.

At its first organization it was styled the Troop of Horse of Montgomery County.

After the division, which will be referred to, it was called the Democratic-Republican Troop, and went by that name until May 5th, 1823, when it was changed to the First Troop of Montgomery County Cavalry, and went by that name until it was finally disbanded, May 4, 1861. After which many of its members enlisted in the various companies and fought to preserve the Union.

The early records, if any were kept, have long been lost, so that we have no exact data to commence with.

The first information that we have in regard to the organization is that John Wentz* was commissioned Cornet for

*In the Name and by the Authority of the Freemen of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania,

The Supreme Executive Council of the said Commonwealth.

To John Wentz, junior, Esq.:

"We reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your Patriotism, Valour, Conduct and Fidelity, Do by these Presents, constitute and appoint you to be Cornet of a troop of Militia Light Horse in the County of Montgomery. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the Duty of Cornet by doing and performing all Manner of Things thereto belonging. And We do strictly charge and require all Officers and Soldiers under your Command, to be obedient to your Orders as Cornet. And you are to observe and follow such Orders and Directions as you shall from Time to Time receive from the Supreme Executive Council of this Commonwealth, or from your superior Officers, according to the Rules

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a troop of horse in Montgomery county, June 24, 1785. Then again in Christopher Sower's paper, September 21st, same year, that "the Troop of Horse will meet Lieut. Col. Richards' Battalion on Tuesday, Oct. 18, and rendezvous at Geo. Brook at the Trap precisely at 9 A. M."

ABEL MORGAN, *Lieutenant.*

Then again in Scharf and Westcott's Philadelphia, Vol. I., p. 449, is mentioned that the Troop of Light Horse from Montgomery county, commanded by Captain James Morris,* paraded in the grand Federal procession in Philadelphia, July 4, 1788.

At the call of the President, General Washington, for troops, dated August 5, 1794, for the suppression of the Whiskey Insurrection in Western Pennsylvania, this troop responded and marched under the command of Captain John Henderson.

According to proclamation of Governor Mifflin, issued March 14th, 1799, and on the 20th following James McHenry, Secretary of War, ordered out the cavalry from Philadelphia, Chester, Montgomery, Bucks and Lancaster to rendezvous at the Springhouse, Montgomery county.

The troop commanded by Captain Robert Kennedy (inn-keeper at Hickorytown, Plymouth township, Montgomery county) obeyed the call and along with the rest marched to

and Discipline of War, and in pursuance of the Acts of Assembly of this State.

"This Commission to continue in Force until your Term, by the Laws of this State, shall of Course expire."

JOHN DICKINSON. { L. S. } "Given in Council under the Hand of the President, and the lesser Seal of the State, at Philadelphia, this twenty-fourth Day of June, in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five."

Attest

JAMES TRIMBLE
for John Armstrong
Sec.

*James Morris born 1753, died 7th-mo. 10, 1795. Interred at Friends' Ground, Plymouth. A plain stone marks his grave. James being a member of Friends by birthright, and married according to their custom, took a marked interest in the Federal cause and incurred thereby the censure of Gwynedd Monthly Meeting, of which he was a member. He lived on his farm in Whitpain, now Dawsfield. He was commissioned by the Governor of Pennsylvania, under the date of April 19, 1793, Brigadier General of a brigade composed of the county of Montgomery.—*Dr. Morris Lewis' Reminiscences of the Datus and Morris Families of Whitpain Township.*

the scene of what was known as the "Fries' Rebellion," then waging in the upper part of Bucks and Northampton counties, and upon arriving on the spot they found the crowds dispersed, and quietly returned.

The troop was composed of members holding different political views. Some held the Federal, or John Adams ideas, others belonging to the opposite party, known as the Jeffersonian or Democratic Republicans, as they were then called. Political feeling waxed very warm at this period; the adherents of Jefferson erected hickory poles in many prominent places in Montgomery county, which was obnoxious to the Adams party. Consequently, upon the return of this troop, when they reached the Trappe (where they stopped to refresh themselves), there was one of these poles standing, and some of the friends of the Adams party attempted to cut it down.

This affair resulted in a complete division of the membership. The Adams party* refused to remain in membership any longer, as Captain Kennedy was a staunch friend of Jefferson. But the ranks were soon filled with new members, and then they adopted the name of the Democratic Republican Troop of Montgomery County. How long Captain Kennedy remained in command I do not know.

In the Brigade Inspector's order, in the spring of 1802, this troop is commanded by Captain Henderson, and is ordered to meet Colonel John Wentz's battalion for drill. This is the last official notice that we have of its meetings until November 24, 1804, when Captain Isaiah Wells, in the Norristown Register, orders the troop to meet for parade at the public house of John P. Schoot, Norristown.

When the war with England first broke out, in 1812, many of its members were among the most prominent and foremost citizens of the county, and had not yet forgotten the trials incident to the Revolution, and the early struggles connected with the early formation of the government.

*The friends of John Adams succeeded and immediately organized a troop of horse, styled the Federal Republican Troop, and elected Captain Price. This troop went by that name until May, 1823, when the name was changed to The Second Troop Montgomery County Cavalry.

In the Norristown Register of June 12, 1812, we find the following notice:

"The Republican Troop of Montgomery County Cavalry are requested to meet at the house of Isaac Markley Norrington (Jeffersonville), June 13, 1812, at 2 p. m., properly armed and equipped. Notwithstanding the present call is rather an innovation on the general rules of the troop* the commandant is inspired with the pleasant anticipation of a general attendance of the members, as the important object for which the meeting is called interests every gentleman who is a member of it.

JOHN MATTHEWS, *Captain.*

"With pleasure we state that on the 12th inst. the Republican Troop of this County, Capt. Matthews, have tendered their services to the government for the defence of their happy country."

Then again they met at the same place, August 22d, at 2 p. m., to "be completely armed and equipped in order to enter into measures preparatory to any orders we may receive for our services.† As it is of the utmost consequence to be in a state of readiness, the members will see the necessity of a general attendance on that day.

JOHN MATTHEWS, *Captain."*

At the reception of General La Fayette, in Philadelphia, this troop was present, along with many other volunteers from Montgomery county, and it is related that the General, after reviewing the parade, remarked "that the horses in the cavalry from Montgomery county were the best horses in the entire procession."

This same pride for fine horses to ride on the days of parade or drill was kept up by many of its members, down to the last of its existence.

On February 22, 1831, the troop met for parade at the public house of Mrs. Webb, Norristown, Captain John Mat-

*The troop had their usual meeting, on May 13, at the public house of Frederick Dull, Hickorytown.

†According to the Brigade Inspector's (Christian Snyder) orders this company was requested to furnish the quota of cavalry called for by the Governor for the First Brigade, Second Division Pennsylvania militia. 25 artillery, 28 cavalry, 458 infantry and riflemen.

Note.—The cavalry were never called out, their services not being needed.

thews, First Lieutenant Jacob Scheetz, Second Lieutenant William Z. Matthews, one hundred and six men in uniform.

George W. Holstein was Captain of the Second Troop. The old political feeling and bitterness having greatly subsided it was felt necessary to have a battalion of cavalry formed.

In the year 1832 John Matheys was elected to the Senate of Pennsylvania, and was instrumental in having the following act passed. "That where troops of cavalry are so situated that three troops cannot be conveniently formed into a battalion, any two troops, consisting of one hundred men, may be formed into a battalion, and elect one major, one adjutant, one quartermaster and one surgeon."

Approved May 4, 1832.*

Immediately after the passage of this act the First Troop of Cavalry and the Second Troop of Cavalry were formed into a battalion, and was called the First Battalion of Montgomery Cavalry, and so remained until August 15th, 1842, when the Second Troop seceded. As already stated friendly relations existed between the two troops, although differing in politics. Each company endeavored to excel the other in drill and military deportment.

The uniform worn by the troop from its formation until 1847 is thus described by the Hon. Hiram C. Hoover, in his history of the troop, published by the Montgomery Historical Society, Vol. I., page 178: "Black leather cap, covered with bear skin, with a buck tail on the right side; navy blue coatee, with scarlet breast facing; three rows of round silver-plated buttons, about the size of a musket ball, one row in the centre and the other two on the outer edge of the scarlet facing, which was circular in form; silver braid around the collar; navy blue pantaloons with scarlet stripe one and one-fourth inches wide down the outer seam, black cravat, long boots, silver-plated spurs, buckskin sword belt which passed over the right shoulder, extending down to the left side, with silver-plated hooks, by which the sword was attached, silver-plated medal in front, bearing on its face the de-

*According to the provisions of this act John Matheys was elected Major and Cadwalader Evans Adjutant.

vice of a mounted trooper, and buckskin gauntlets. The horse equipments consisted of a double bridle, with silver-plated curb and snaffle bits; breast strap, with silver-plated breast plate, the shape of a heart; saddle, plated stirrups, blue saddle cover, covering the saddle, and extending as far back as the hips of the horse, with a stripe of red cloth one and a-half inches wide around the outer edge. The cost in 1841 was about one hundred dollars. The swords and pistol holsters and other accoutrements were furnished by the state."

A company thus equipped and well mounted on good horses made a fine appearance and always attracted much attention.

The requisites for membership were as follows: Good citizenship, good rider and a good horse. In the early days of the troop the grey color of the horse was the favorite one. Members having horses of that color were always entitled to ride on the right. The officers nearly always rode horses of that color.

Many persons belonged to the organization several years beyond the required time, which was seven years. These were called "Grey Beards," and were assigned to the right when present in all parades.

In all military parades, when this troop was present, except in Philadelphia, they were assigned to the right.

At the execution of Mina,* at the Bucks County Almshouse, June 21, 1832, this troop was present and was assigned to the right in the line, and guarded the prisoner from his cell in the Doylestown Prison to the place of execution.

When the native American riots broke out in Philadelphia, in July, 1844, this troop immediately responded to the call of the Governor on that occasion. (See muster roll.)

"At the commencement of the Mexican War, Captain Martin proposed to offer the services of the troop to the government, but a number of its members refused to accede to the

*Don Lino Mina was a Spaniard, and was convicted of poisoning — Chapman, who conducted a school in Andalusia, Bucks county, to cure and prevent stammering. It became circulated around that there would be an attempt to rescue the doomed man by force, and for this reason the military was called out.

proposition. Many withdrew, and shortly after Dr. Martin resigned, and went to California.

"Lieutenant Hurst was elected Captain, but the membership declined very much, and was on the eve of disbanding when Dr. Martin returned from California. He was again elected Captain, and its ranks were again filled." Hon H. C. Hoover, in Montgomery County Historical Society Sketches, Vol. I., page 181.

In 1847 the uniform was changed to the following: "Beaver cap, ornamented with horse-hair plume, and eagle in front, buff cord and tassels; blue coat, with buff collar, cuffs and skirt facings, oval buttons (yellow), sky blue pantaloons, with a buff stripe down the outer seam, one and one-fourth inches wide; black cravat, long boots, yellow spurs and white sword belt, with plate in front. The horse equipments were similar to the former, except yellow mountings were used instead of silver-plated."

Cost of equipment in 1858:

Coats and pants, complete, \$13.00; sweat cloth, \$3.50; hat and plume, \$2.75; fatigue cap, 50 cents; bits, stirrups and spurs, \$4.50; bridle, \$3.25; saddle girth, \$1.00; valises, \$1.75; white gloves, 13 cents; ornaments, 15 cents. Total, \$30.53. —Extracted from the Minute Book.

The following is the list of members of the troop who reported for duty at the time of the riots in Philadelphia, July, 1844:

John A. Martin, Captain; Adam Hurst, Second Lieutenant.

Non-commissioned officers and privates:

William Bickings, Henry Baker, James Burnside, Samuel Beyer, Richard Bickings, George Berkheimer, Samuel Beideman, Joseph Bruner, Jesse Bean, Joseph Cleaver, Henry Culp, Levi Cope, Philip Custer, George Cowden, Lemuel Eastburn, Amos Erb, Bennet Fulmer, Allen Fleck, Philip S. Gerhard, Peter Gilbert, Franklin Gouldy, Joseph Hague, Daniel L. Heist (surgeon), Jacob Highly, Jacob Hallman, Hiram C. Hoover, Jacob Hoover, Andrew Hart, George Hoff, Jacob Hurst, David Lukens, William Logan, Samuel Lightcap, David Z. Matthews, O. S. William Martin, Charles New-

man, Elwood Norney, Isaiah Richards, George SENDERFER, Conard Sheive, William Teaney, John Walker, George Wentz, James Highly.

Muster roll from the last organization, May 3, 1858, until the disbanding, in 1861:

John A. Martin, Captain; Hiram C. Hoover, First Lieutenant; Jacob Hoover, Second Lieutenant; Jackson Walker, Cornet; John Shepherd, First Sergeant; Linford S. Preston, Second Sergeant; Benjamin D. Harrar, Third Sergeant; Joseph C. Beyer, Fourth Sergeant; William Greger, Fifth Sergeant; George Rittenhouse, First Corporal; James M. Aiman, Second Corporal; Algernon J. Hoover, Third Corporal; William A. Shearer, Fourth Corporal; Andrew J. Hoover and William Werkheiser, musicians; Andrew H. Baker, Jesse B. Fisher, George Amey, Napoleon B. Holland, Amos Yost, Wilmer Gerhart, George Berkheimer, Isaac Fryer, Martin Summers, Jacob Ritter, Marshall DeHaven, Isaac Lysinger, Charles W. Beyer, Joshua McCool, Wells Wentz, Isaac Beideman, Jacob Hoover, Jr., Jonathan Wood, Henry Werkheiser, Milton Newberry and Abraham Anders.

A correct list or roll of the troop prior to 1844 I have never seen.

Here are some names connected with the troop not found in the foregoing lists, gathered from various sources:

Robt. Kennedy,	Wm. Bean,
John Henderson,	John Hesser,
Isaiah Wells,	John Miller,
Geo. Berkheimer (19 years).	Solomon Katz,
Ulrich Schlater,	Samuel Spencer,
James Barry,	Isaac Miller,
John Chain,	James Scheetz,
——— Amies,	W. W. Lewis,
Matthias Koplin,	Robt. Pollard,
Wm. Hamil,	J. Baker,
Arnold Baker,	Kline Shoemaker,
Isaac Beaver,	Hugh Tarrence,
Francis Burnside,	A. D. Crawford,
Solomon Norney,	John A. Martin,
Thos. Miller,	Henry G. Hart,
Maurice Kensel,	Wm. Z. Matthews,
Jacob Scheetz,	D. Z. Mathews,
Alexander Supplee,	Jacob Highly,
Peter Colehower,	Charles Hurst,

Geo. K. Ritter,
 Benj. Baker,
 Jos. Fetter,
 Augustus W. Shearer,
 Samuel Werkheiser,
 Jesse B. Davis,
 Jacob Fisher,

Henry Fultz,
 Seneca Radcliff,
 Thos. Bitting,
 David Marple,
 Jacob Gilbert,
 Geo. Rittenhouse,
 Wm. Hergesheimer.

CAPTAINS.

Rob Kennedy.
 John Henderson.
 Isaiah Wells (afterwards Major General).
 John Matthews (27 years).
 Jacob Scheetz.
 William Z. Matthews.
 Robert Pollard.
 Dr. John A. Martin.*
 Adam Hurst.

These reminiscences have been gathered largely from the Norristown papers, having examined entire files from 1804-47. Recollections of George K. Ritter, Hickorytown, who died in 1896, aged 93 years, and for many years an active member, Hon. Hiram C. Hoover, a member for 16 years, and personal recollections.

The account leading to the division of the troop on its return from the Fries' Rebellion was furnished by Nancy Harman (nee Dull), whose father was along with the troop at the time of separation.

[Read before the Historical Society February 22, 1899.]

*Surgeon for the Troop for some years before.

Time and Place of Meeting of the Democratic Republican Troop of Montgomery County Cavalry from 1804-22.*

Year	MONTH.	PLACE.	BY ORDER OF.	
1804	Nov. 24	John P. Scheetz, Norristown	Isaiah Wells, Capt	They were ordered by the Brig. Inspector to attend the 51st Reg. for inspection. Col. John Wentz.
1805	May 6	Justus Scheetz, Norristown	Isaiah Wells, Capt	
1805	Oct. 7	Mary Weachter, Norristown	Isaiah Wells, Capt	They were ordered by the Brig. Inspector to attend the 51st Reg. for inspection. Col. John Wentz.
1806	Oct. 6	John Benjamin, Norristown	Isaiah Wells, Capt	
1807	May 4	Geo. Savage, Norristown	Isaiah Wells, Capt	In full uniform to elect 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 1 cornet. Business of importance to be brought before the Troop. With their arms and accoutrements in good order. The Troop was ordered to meet the 51st Reg. for inspection.
1807	July 30	Justus Scheetz, Norristown	Isaiah Wells, Capt	
1807	Oct —	George Savage, Norristown	Isaiah Wells, Capt	In company with other volunteer companies to attend a Harvest Home at John Benjamin's, Jeffersonville.
1808	May 2	Michael Brode, Norristown	Isaiah Wells, Capt	
1808	Aug. 12	Isaiah Wells, Norristown	Isaiah Wells, Capt	To elect a captain for the Troop. At this meeting John Matheys was elected Captain.
1809	Apr. 15	Isaiah Wells, Norristown	James Barry, 1st Lieut	
1809	May —	Isaiah Wells, Norristown	John Matheys, Capt	For parade. A band of music expected to be present.
1809	Sept. 9	Fred Dull, Hickorytown	John Matheys, Capt	
1809	Oct. 2	Isaiah Wells, Norristown	John Matheys, Capt	For parade.
1810	May —	Isaiah Wells, Norristown	John Matheys, Capt	
1810	May 15	Jacob Bush, Whitpain	John Matheys, Capt	To join the 51st Reg., Col. Thomas Humphreys, for inspection. To march to John Benjamin's, Norrinton, (Jeffersonville) to participate in the celebration of American Independence.
1810	Aug. 10	Isaiah Wells, Norristown	John Matheys, Capt	
1810	Oct. 1	Hugh Terrance, L. Merion	John Matheys, Capt	Provide with nine rounds blank cartridge.
1811	May —	Sam'l Paterson, Norristown	John Matheys, Capt	
1811	June 10	Sam'l Paterson, Norristown	John Matheys, Capt	To elect officers according to law.
1811	Aug. 10	Jacob Ramsey, U. Merion	John Matheys, Capt	
1811	Oct. 7	Matthias Koplin, U. Merion	John Matheys, Capt	With arms and accoutrements, fully equipped. A general attendance is requested.
1812	May 4	Isaac Markley, U. Merion	John Matheys, Capt	
1812	May 13	Fred'k Dull, Hickorytown	John Matheys, Capt	At this meeting the Troop tendered their services to the general government.
1812	June 13	Isaac Markley, Norrinton	John Matheys, Capt	
1812	Aug. 22	Isaac Markley, Norrinton	John Matheys, Capt	Completely armed and equipped in order to enter into measures preparatory to any orders that we may receive for our services.
1812	Oct. 5	Isaac Markley, Norrinton	John Matheys, Capt	
1813	May 3	Mrs. Koplin, Norristown	John Matheys, Capt	In complete uniform, to train. The valises and forage bags will be ready for each member.

*1824. The name was changed to First Troop.

*1822. The name was changed to First Troop.

TIME AND PLACE OF MEETING OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY CAVALRY—Continued.

MONTH.	PLACE.	BY ORDER OF.
1813 Oct. 4....	Isaac Markley, Norrinton.....	John Matheys, Capt.....
1814 May 2....	Isaac Markley, Norrinton.....	John Matheys, Capt.....
1814 Aug 2....	James Harry, Norristown.....	John Matheys, Capt.....
1814 Sept. 19..	Geo. Bishings, Norristown.....	Wm. Hamil, O. S.....
1814 Oct. 17..	Jacob Bush, Whitpain.....	Wm. Hamil, O. S.....
1815 May 6....	Abram. Hipple, Norrinton.....	Wm. Hamil, O. S.....
1816 May 24..	Mrs. Webb, Norristown.....	Wm. Hamil, O. S.....
1816 Aug. 24..	Edward Davis, Bakersville.....	Wm. Hamil, O. S.....
1816 Oct. 28..	Col. Thos. Humprey, Centre Squares.....	Wm. Hamil, O. S.....
1817 May 5....	Geo. Bishings, Whittemarsh.....	Wm. Hamil, O. S.....
1817 July 4....	Isaac Markley, Norrinton.....	Wm. Hamil, O. S.....
1817 Oct. 28...	Hugh Tarrence, L. Merion.....	Wm. Hamil, O. S.....
1817 Dec. 16...	Mrs. Webb, Norristown.....	Wm. Hamil, O. S.....
1818 May 4....	Jacob Ramsey, Swedesford.....	Wm. Hamil, O. S.....
1818 Aug. 22...	Jacob Ramsey, Swedesford.....	Wm. Hamil, O. S.....
1819	No meetings advertised.....	
1820 May 1....	John Miller, Norrinton.....	Wm. Hamil, O. S.....
1820 Sept. 19..	John Miller, Norrinton.....	Wm. Hamil, O. S.....
1821 May 7....	Dan'l Deal, Plymouth.....	Wm. Hamil, O. S.....
1821 June 30..	Hugh Tarrence, L. Merion.....	Wm. Hamil, O. S.....
1821 Oct. 15...	Philip Sellers, Whittemarsh.....	Wm. Hamil, O. S.....
1822 May 6....	John Miller, Norrinton.....	Francis G. Burnside, O. S.....
1822 May 25...	John Singer, Whitpain.....	Francis G. Burnside, O. S.....
1822 July 27...	Mrs. Patterson, Marble Hall.....	Francis G. Burnside, O. S.....
1823 May 5....	Jos. Haws.....	Francis C. Burnside, O. S.....
1823 May 21...	Mrs. Patterson, Marble Hall.....	John Matheys, Capt.....
1824 May 3....	Hugh Tarrence, L. Merion.....	
1824 Sept. 27..	Wayne, Lower Merion.....	

Parade.
In marching order, when an election for Captain, 1st Lieut., 2d Lieut., and one Clerk.
In marching order, if not sooner called.
Parade.
Parade.
Parade.
Parade.
Parade.
Parade and to elect 1 Lieut. In place of N. Koplin, resigned.
Parade and celebrate the anniversary of the American Independence.
Parade.
Parade for the purpose of celebrating the triumph of Democracy in the inauguration of Governor Findlay.
Parade.
Parade and prepared with powder.
Parade.
To march from thence on the following day, the 20th, at 6 a. m., to proceed to the Paoli monument.
Parade.
To hold an election for Company's officers agreeable to the Inspector's orders.
Parade.
Parade and elect 1 1st Lieut. In the room of Isaac Beaver, resigned.
To meet the 63d Reg. (Militia) for inspection.
Parade.
The name was first changed to the First Troop Montgomery Co. Cavalry.
Parade and to meet the 2d battalion of Montgomery Co. Vol.
To meet the 2d Troop, Capt. George Holstein, to proceed to Philadelphia at the reception of Lafayette. 5400 Military were in procession. The notice of meeting had a wood cut of the staid musician.

TIME AND PLACE OF MEETING OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY CAVALRY—Continued.

Year	MONTH.	PLACE.	BY ORDER OF.	
1824	Oct. —	Norristown.....	John Matheys, Capt.....	Parade in commemoration of the visit of Lafayette. The line was formed about half past 12 o'clock, as follows: 1st Brig. Gen. Bover and staff, Capt. Matheys, First Troop of Cavalry, Capt. Markley, Norristown Guards and band, Capt. Eden's Montgomery Guards, Captain Dewees, Trappe Infantry, Capt. Wentz's Artillery Blue, Capt. Bwoney Montgomery Rifles, Greens, Capt. Holgate's Montgomery Blues, Capt. Daub's Montgomery Guards, Capt. Egbert's Co. Montgomery Guards, Captain Conards Montgomery Citizens Guards, Capt. Holstein's 2nd Troop of Cavalry. A numerous assemblage of both sexes present. Reg. Oct. 20, 1824.
1825	May 2....	Mary Markley, L. Providence.....	Thos. Miller, O. S.....	Parade.
1825	July 30....	Jacob Harts, Hickorytown.....	Thos. Miller, O. S.....	Parade.
1825	Oct. 27....	Jacob Harts, Hickorytown.....	Thos. Miller, O. S.....	To meet the 2nd Bat. Mont. Co. Vols., commanded by Col. Geo. Holstein.
1826	Jan. 2....	Philip Sellers, Blue House, Whittemaran.....	Thos. Miller, O. S.....	Parade.
1826	May —....	Arnold Baker, Norrington, Barley Sheaf.....	Thos. Miller, O. S.....	Parade.
1826	Aug. 5....	John Matheys, Lower Merion.....	Thos. Miller, O. S.....	For the purpose of celebrating the 50th Anniversary of the National Independence.
1826	Oct. 28....	Jacob Ramsey, U. Merion, Swedesford.....	Thos. Miller, O. S.....	Parade and to meet the 2nd Bat. Mont. Co. Vols., commanded by Col. Geo. Holstein. 12 volunteer companies were in line.
1827	May 7....	Dan'l Stauffer, Norrington.....	Thos. Miller, O. S.....	Parade.
1827	May 22....	Geo. Bisbing, Whittemarsh, Barren Hill.....	Thos. Miller, O. S.....	Parade. The 2nd Battalion Mont. Co. Vols. will meet at the same time.
1827	Aug. 4....	Dilman Stauffer, Norrington.....	Thos. Miller, O. S.....	Parade.
1828	29.....	No records.....	Jacob Scheetz, O. S.....	The members will appear in full uniform to receive the arms provided by the state. The 2nd Troop met at the same time.
1830	May 3....	Edward L. Bean, Norrington.....	Jacob Scheetz, O. S.....	106 men were in uniform: John Matheys, Capt.; Jacob Scheetz, 1st Lieut., W. Z. Matheys, 2nd Lieut.
1831	July 22....	Mrs. Webb, Norristown.....	Jacob Scheetz, O. S.....	To proceed to Doylestown to attend the execution of Mina.
1832	June 21....	David Acuff, Gwynedd. 7 o'clock A. M.....	Jacob Scheetz, O. S.....	The Troop acted as body guards.
1832	Nov 1....	E. L. Bean, Norrington.....	Jacob Scheetz, O. S.....	For parade and hold an election for 2nd Lieut., in place of Samuel Spencer, resigned.
1832		No records found.....	Jacob Scheetz, O. S.....	The 1st Bat. of Mont. Cav. met at the same time. This appears to be the first meeting after the formation of the Bat. composed of the 1st and 2nd Troop. John Matheys Major, Cad. Evans, Adjt.
1833	Feb. 22....	John Branch, Norristown.....	Jacob Scheetz, O. S.....	Parade.
1833	May 23....	John Dager, Barren Hill.....	Cad. Evans, Adjt.....	Battalion Cavalry.

TIME AND PLACE OF MEETING OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY CAVALRY—Continued.

Year	MONTH.	PLACE.	BY ORDER OF.	
1833	Aug. 5.....	Isaac Miller, L. Merlon.....	Jacob Scheetz, O. S.....	Parade and to elect one person for cornet. Cavalry Battalion.
1833	Nov. 14.....	Edward L. Bean.....	John Matheys, Maj.....	Parade.
1834	Feb. 22.....	Mrs. Bush, Springhouse.....	Jacob Scheetz, O. S.....	Parade and elect one person for 1st Lieut., in place of Wm. Hamil, resigned.
1834	May 5.....	Alexander Supplee, Swedesford.....	Jacob Scheetz, O. S.....	Cavalry Battalion for parade and inspection.
1834	May 23.....	Marble Hall.....	John Matheys, Maj.....	Parade.
1834	Aug. 12.....	Abm. Siffer, Flourtown.....	I. Miller, O. S.....	To join the 2nd Troop, to march to Paoli Monument.
1834	Sept. 19.....	Alex. Supplee, Swedesford.....	I. Miller, O. S.....	Parade.
1835	May 4.....	Peter Spare, Marble Hall.....	I. Miller, O. S.....	Parade and hold an election for 1 Capt., 1st Lieut., 2nd Lieut. and Cornet. Capt. Matheys resigned. Jacob Scheetz elected Capt.
1835	Aug. 10.....	Arnold Baker, Norriton.....	I. Miller, O. S.....	Cavalry Battalion.
1835	Nov. 2.....	Geo. K. Ritter, Hickorytown.....	Geo. Shainline, Adjt.....	Parade.
1836	May 2.....	Edward S. Bean, Norriton.....	I. Miller, O. S.....	From thence to join Maj. Vansant's Battalion in the city.
1836	May 23.....	Maj. John Dager, Barron Hill.....	I. Miller, O. S.....	Parade.
1836	Aug. 22.....	Isaac Miller, Lower Merion.....	I. Miller, O. S.....	Parade.
1836	Oct. 10.....	Alexander Supplee, Swedesford.....	I. Miller, O. S.....	Cavalry Battalion.
1837	May 21.....	Isaac Miller, L. Merlon.....	Geo. W. Shainline, Adj.....	Parade. The members are requested to wear craps on their left arm, as a token of respect to their late ex-Capt. John Matheys, dec'd. Died July 23, 1837.
1837	Aug. 21.....	John Hinkle, Whitpain (Bashs).....	I. Miller, O. S.....	Cavalry Battalion to proceed to join the parade at the Paoli Monument.
1837	Sept. 19.....	John Elliott, King-of-Prussia.....	Geo. W. Shainline, Adj.....	To elect by ballot 1 Capt. in place of Jacob Scheetz, resigned. Wm. Z. Matheys elected Captain.
1837	Dec. 2.....	James Bush, U. Merlon.....	James Bush, Brig. Ins.....	To elect by ballot 1st Lieut. I. Miller elected. Cavalry Battalion parade and inspection. Wm. Z. Matheys, Major. The members will wear craps on their left arm in memory of our fellow-member James Scheetz, deceased
1838	May 7.....	Peter Housen, Hickorytown.....	I. Miller, O. S.....	Cavalry Battalion, to proceed to Trappe to join in parade with 1st Troop of Chester Co., Capt. Samuel Hollman, Union
1838	May 25.....	Abm. Markley, Norritown.....	A. W. Shearer, Adjt.....	Troop of Chester and Delaware, Capt. Samuel Davis; 3rd Troop of Mont. Co., Capt. Jonas Smith, and 1st National Dra- goons Mont. Co., Capt. Dani Fiv.
1838	Aug. 20.....	Isaac Miller, L. Merlon.....	W. W. Lewis, O. S.....	Parade.
1838	Oct. 19.....	Peter Spare, Perkiomen Bridge.....	A. W. Shearer, Adjt.....	Parade and elect one person for 2nd Lieut. and Cornet. Rob't Pollard elected 2nd Lieut. and J. Baker Cornet.
1839	Feb. 22.....	Cadwalader Hallowell, Barron Hill.....	W. W. Lewis, O. S.....	Cavalry Battalion parade and inspection.
1839	May 6.....	Jesse Benner, Valley Green.....	W. W. Lewis, O. S.....	Parade. Persons who have declined being members and still hold arms belonging to the Troop will return them imme- diately.
1839	May 23.....	Philip I. Gerhard, Whitpain.....	Wm. Holstein, Adjt.....	
1839	Aug. 12.....	Isaac Miller, Green Tree, L. Merlon.....	W. W. Lewis, O. S.....	

TIME AND PLACE OF MEETING OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY CAVALRY—Continued.

Year	MONTH.	PLACE.	BY ORDER OF.	
1839	Oct. 28....	Peter Spare, Perkiomen Bridge.....	W. W. Lewis, O. S.	To proceed to Reading, Capt. Wm. Z. Matheys, 1st Lieut. Isaac Miller, 2d Rob't Pollard, Cornet, J. Baker. Parade. Battalion to proceed to the Trappe for the purpose of uniting in the parade. National Dragoons, 1st Troop Mont. Cav., Capt. Jonas Smith; Chester Co. Troop, Capt. Sam'l Hollman, and the National Troop of Berks, Capt. Henry Shaeffer. Parade. To attend the Paoli parade. At the Paoli parade four companies of Cavalry, 21 volunteer companies and 300 tents. Reg. Sep. 30, 1840. Parade. The members will wear crape on their left arms in respect to the memory of the late President, Gen. Harrison. On Monday last the 1st Troop of Mont. Co. Cav., commanded by Maj. Wm. Z. Matheys. "This is one of the oldest Troops in the state and favorably known to military men generally through the neighboring Brigades, and we doubt whether a finer Troop exists in the state." Reg. May 5, 1841. Cav. Battalion. The officers will wear crape on the left arm and hilts of the sword, in respect to the memory of the late President. At 9 a. m. an election will be held for 1st Lieut., in room of Isaac Miller, resigned. Parade. The members will wear crape on their left arm as a testimony of respect to their member, A. D. Crawford. In the afternoon they assembled in a body in the Court House, and were addressed by Francis Dimond, Esq., giving the early history of its organization. At 6 a. m. prepared for three days' duty at Camp Montgomery, Pottstown. At noon prepared for three days' duty at Camp Montgomery, Pottstown. To elect a Capt., in room of W. Z. Matheys, resigned. Lieut. Pollard and Cornet Hurst will conduct the election. Robt. Pollard was elected Captain. Parade. Parade.
1840	Feb. 22....	Jacob Spang, Norristown.....	W. W. Lewis, O. S.	
1840	May 4....	Isaac Miller, Lower Merion.....	W. W. Lewis, O. S.	
1840	May 25....	Peter Spare, Perkiomen Bridge.....	Wm. H. Holstein, Adjt....	
1840	Aug. 10....	Jesse Benner, Valley Green.....	W. W. Lewis, O. S.	At 9 a. m. prepared for three days' duty at Camp Montgomery, Pottstown. At noon prepared for three days' duty at Camp Montgomery, Pottstown. To elect a Capt., in room of W. Z. Matheys, resigned. Lieut. Pollard and Cornet Hurst will conduct the election. Robt. Pollard was elected Captain. Parade. Parade.
1840	Sept. 20....	John Elliott, King-of-Prussia.....	Wm. H. Holstein, Adjt....	
1841	Feb. 22....	Henry Neuman, Barren Hill.....	W. W. Lewis, O. S.	
1841	May 3....	Arnold Baker, Norristown.....	W. W. Lewis, O. S.	
1841	May 24....	Geo. Sensenderfer, Hickorytown.....	Wm. H. Holstein, Adjt....	At 9 a. m. prepared for three days' duty at Camp Montgomery, Pottstown. At noon prepared for three days' duty at Camp Montgomery, Pottstown. To elect a Capt., in room of W. Z. Matheys, resigned. Lieut. Pollard and Cornet Hurst will conduct the election. Robt. Pollard was elected Captain. Parade. Parade.
1841	May 24....	Geo. Sensenderfer, Hickorytown.....	Henry G. Hart, O. S.	
1841	Aug. 23....	Wm. L. Twining, Norristown.....	Henry G. Hart, O. S.	
1841	Aug. 23....			
1841	Oct. 7....	Henry Longaker, Perkiomen Bridge.....	Henry G. Hart, O. S.	At 9 a. m. prepared for three days' duty at Camp Montgomery, Pottstown. At noon prepared for three days' duty at Camp Montgomery, Pottstown. To elect a Capt., in room of W. Z. Matheys, resigned. Lieut. Pollard and Cornet Hurst will conduct the election. Robt. Pollard was elected Captain. Parade. Parade.
1841	Oct. 7....	Pottstown.....	Wm. H. Holstein, Adjt....	
1841	Nov. 8....	Geo. Sensenderfer, Hickorytown.....	Wm. H. Holstein, Adjt....	
1841	Nov. 8....			
1842	Feb. 22....	Wm. L. Twining, Norristown.....	Henry G. Hart, O. S.	At 9 a. m. prepared for three days' duty at Camp Montgomery, Pottstown. At noon prepared for three days' duty at Camp Montgomery, Pottstown. To elect a Capt., in room of W. Z. Matheys, resigned. Lieut. Pollard and Cornet Hurst will conduct the election. Robt. Pollard was elected Captain. Parade. Parade.
1842	May 2....	Abm. Zeigenfuss, Flourtown.....	Henry G. Hart, O. S.	
1842	May 20....	Thos. Sellers, Whitpain.....	Henry G. Hart, O. S.	
1842	May 20....			

The Cav. Battalion met at Centre Square.

TIME AND PLACE OF MEETING OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY CAVALRY.—Continued.

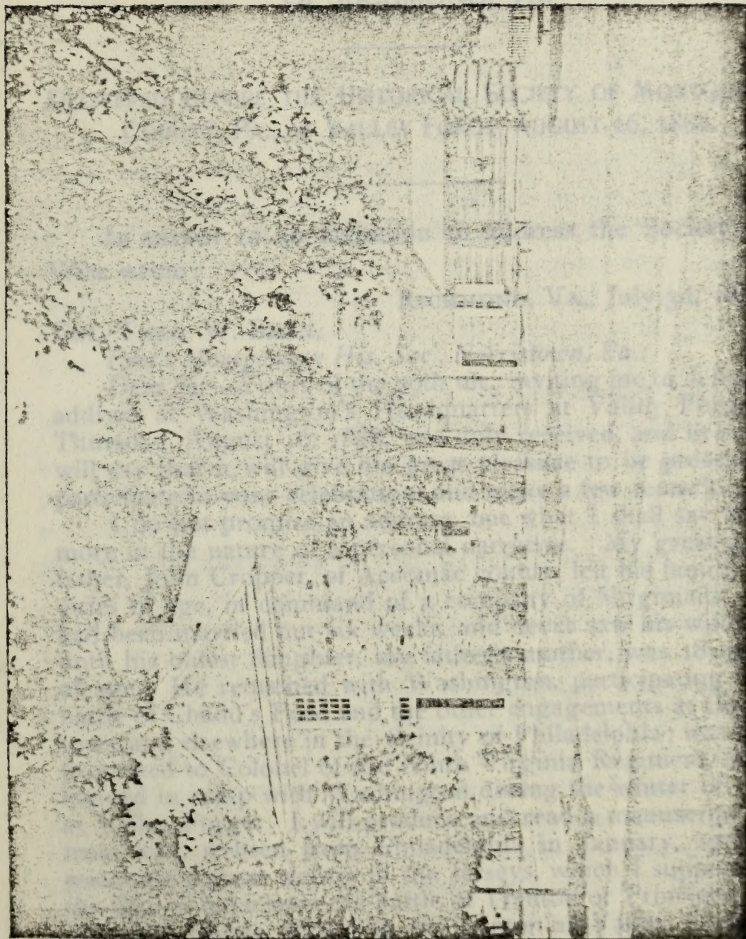
Year	Month	Place	By Order Of	
1842	Aug. 15....	Wm. L. Twining, Norristown.....	Wm. H. Holstein, Adjt.....	To elect by ballot 1 Capt., 1 1st Lieut., 2nd Lieut. and 1 Corporal. Capt. Pollard and Lieut. Hater will conduct the election, by order of the Major. John A. Martin, Captain; Henry G. Hart, 1st Lieut., Adam Hurst, 2d Lieut.; Jacob Highly, Cornet. Battalion. The members of the 1st Troop met. The Cavalry Battalion. The members of the 1st Troop met. The 2nd Troop met.
1842	Nov 7.....	Henry H. Neuman Fountain, Barren Hill...	W. H. Holstein, Adjt.....	2nd Troop met.
1843	Feb. 22...	David Blyler, Springhouse.....	D. Z. Matheys, O. S.....	Parade. To receive their new arms and return the old ones.
1843	May 1....	Geo. Sensenderfer, Norristown.....	D. Z. Matheys, O. S.....	The First Troop of Montgomery Cavalry, Capt. Martin, paraded in this place on Monday last, and well sustained their merited reputation for soldier-like appearance and proficiency in tactics. This troop is the oldest in the community, and has always been prominent, numbering at one time upwards of one hundred members., Norristown Reg. May 3, 1843.
1843	May 15....	Geo. Sensenderfer, Norristown.....	D. Z. Matheys, O. S.....	To join the Battalion. A portion of the 2nd Troop met
1843	Aug. 14....	Wm. Michener, Broad Axe.....	D. Z. Matheys, O. S.....	This was the last meeting of the Battalion.
1843	Nov. 6....	P. S. Gerhard, Whitpain.....	D. Z. Matheys, O. S.....	Drill and target practice.
1844	Feb. 22...	Jos. Nungesser, Valley Green.....	D. Z. Matheys, O. S.....	Parade.
1844	May 6....	James Bush, U. Merlon.....	D. Z. Matheys, O. S.....	A general parade—Union Gray Artillerists, Lieutenants and Shoemaker; Washington Artillery, Capt. Mallory, Germantown; Germantown Blues, Capt. Miles; Lafayette Blues, Capt. Williams; Mont. Guards, Capt. Potts; Norristown Rifles, Capt. Pollard.
1844	July 10....	Rittenhouse, Jeffersonville.....	D. Z. Matheys, O. S.....	Drill and target practice.
1844	Nov. 4....	Geo. Hoof, Norristown.....	D. Z. Matheys, O. S.....	Philadelphia Riots.
1845	Feb. 22...	Geo. K. Ritter, Hickorytown.....	D. Z. Matheys, O. S.....	Parade.
1845	May 5....	Jesse Gable, Skippackville.....	D. Z. Matheys, O. S.....	Parade.
1845	May 12...	Philadelphia	D. Z. Matheys, O. S.....	To proceed to Krepp's to join the 2nd and 3rd Vol. Battalion.
1845	June 26...	David Blyler, Springhouse.....	D. Z. Matheys, O. S.....	In honor of the memory of Gen. Jackson. 2800 military were in the procession.
1845	Aug. 25....	Wm. Shugard, Flourtown.....	Jos. Hague, 2d Sergt.....	Parade.
1845	Nov. 6....	John Kepner, Centre Square.....	Jacob Highly, F. S.....	Parade and elect one person for orderly in the place of D. Z. Matheys, resigned. Jacob Highly was elected.
1846	Jan. 15....			Citizens Corps. To elect a First Lieut. in place of H. G. Hart, resigned. John A. Martin, M. D., was surgeon for several years previous.

TIME AND PLACE OF MEETING OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY CAVALRY—Continued.

Year	MONTH.	PLACE.	BY ORDER OF.	
1846	May 20.....	Wm. Wentz, Penn Square.....	Jacob Highly, F. S.....	<p>Action will be taken on the uniforms and fines. Parade, 9 rounds blank cartridge. Members will be punctual in procuring their equipments. The caps and valises can be procured of Wm. Cresson, 3rd street below Race. Parade, 6 rounds blank cartridge. Drill and parade. Drill. Drill. 9 rounds blank cartridge. Drill. 9 rounds blank cartridge. Drill. Adam Hurst, Capt. Inspection and drill. The National Dragoons, Capt. Wmlev, were present. For drill and reorganization. 23 persons enrolled their names. John A. Martin, Capt.; H. C. Hoover, 1st Lieut.; Jacob Hoover, 2nd Lieut.; John Shepherd, O. S. 12 new members elected. 25 men in uniform. Winter parade 397 men in line. Parade and inspection. Parade, 29 men in uniform. 9 companies present 450 men and 55 com. officers in uniform. Last meeting. Disbanded.</p>
1847	Feb. 22....	David Blyler, Springhouse.....	Jacob Highly, F. S.....	
1848	Feb. '22....	Abm. Hendricks, Fairview.....	Jacob Highly, O. S.....	
1848	May 1.....	Francis Hinker, Mount Airy.....	Jacob Highly, F. S.....	
1849	May 7.....	Wm. Shugard, Valley Green.....	Jacob Highly, F. S.....	
1849	Oct. 29....	John Baird, Jeffersonville.....	Conrad Shelve, O. S.....	
1850	Oct. 7.....	Wells Tomlinson, Centre Square.....	Conrad Shelve, O. S.....	
1852	May 10....	Geo. Berkheimer, Franklinville.....	Conrad Shelve, O. S.....	
1852	May 31....	C. & A. Hurst, Norristown.....	N. K. Shoemaker, Brig. Ins.	
1858	May 3.....	Phillip S. Gerhard, Whitpain.....	
1858	Aug. 9.....	Francis Kile, Montgomeryville.....	John Shepherd, O. S.....	
1859	Feb. 22....	Norristown.....	
1859	May 7.....	Norristown.....	Geo. Amey, Brig. In.....	
1859	Sept. 1....	Farm of Wm. Greger, Gwynedd.....	
1859	Nov. 7.....	Oliver Wampole, Springhouse.....	
1860	Feb. 22....	Geo. K. Ritter, Hickorytown.....	
1860	May 4.....	Norristown.....	
1861	Apr. 22....	P. S. Gerhard, Whitpain.....	
1861	May 4.....	P. S. Gerhard, Whitpain.....	

ADDRESS OF HON. JOHN S. WISE.

OF RICHMOND, VA.



WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS, VALLEY FORGE.

From a Photograph by William H. Richardson.

130 HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY.

exceeding 20 or 30 minutes, it will give me great pleasure to be present as the descendant of one of those who suffered in those trying times at Valley Forge. You may count upon my presence.

With many thanks,

ADDRESS OF HON. JOHN S. WISE,

OF RICHMOND, VA.

DELIVERED BEFORE THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY, PA., AT VALLEY FORGE, AUGUST 16, 1888.

In answer to an invitation to address the Society, Mr. Wise wrote :

RICHMOND, VA., July 3d, 1888.

COL. THEO. W. BEAN,

Pres't Montgomery His. Soc., Norristown, Pa.:

Dear Sir—Yours of the 29th ult., inviting me to deliver an address at Washington's Headquarters at Valley Forge, on Thursday, August 16, 1888, was duly received, and in reply I will say that it will give me great pleasure to be present and participate in your celebration, and make a few remarks.

I do not promise an address, but what I shall say will be more in the nature of a personal narrative. My great-grandfather, John Cropper, of Accomac county, left his family at 19 years of age, in command of a company of Virginians. He had been married but six weeks, and never saw his wife again until his oldest daughter, my father's mother, was 18 months of age. He remained with Washington, participating in the battle of Chadd's Ford and the other engagements at Germantown and elsewhere in the vicinity of Philadelphia; was finally promoted to Colonel of the Ninth Virginia Regiment, and remained in camp with Washington during the winter of 1777-8 at Valley Forge. I will produce and read a manuscript letter from him, written from Philadelphia in January, 1777, announcing a great victory in the Jerseys, which I suppose from the date to have been the battle of Trenton or Princeton. The historical events preceding the winter at Valley Forge, contemporaneous with it and subsequent thereto, are too well known to require more than a running sketch; and while I shall not tire the patience of your good people with an address

exceeding 20 or 30 minutes, it will give me great pleasure to be present as the descendant of one of those who suffered in those trying times at Valley Forge. You may count upon my presence.

With many thanks,

Yours truly,

JNO. S. WISE.

THE ADDRESS.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: When Colonel Bean first spoke of your annual reunion here I promised to come as a listener rather than as a speaker, but moved, no doubt, among other considerations, by that vanity which we all feel in claiming our share in the historic things here, I consented finally to make a few remarks here to-day. You may imagine my feelings when I saw by the papers that I was to deliver the address. The truth was that I had no such intention, yet it is a theme upon which the heart must be glad that it can say a great deal.

I suppose there is no spot in the world more sacred to Americans than this on which we stand, and yet it does not mark any great point in Revolutionary history. It marks the power of endurance, the power of resistance, the power of long suffering, which won the fight rather than any brilliant struggle; and it is interesting on that account more than any other. I confess that as we approached here it was with a feeling akin to that with which a man enters some great play-house from which the actors are gone and the lights are out, contrasted with how it appeared in the full blaze of light which made it famous. This was indeed a great stage, and this a great theatre, with the heavens for its ceiling and the world for its audience; and to appreciate it we must people it again with the figures of a century ago; we must try to place ourselves back in the position of our ancestors and see what a wonderful story was enacted here. Let your minds take you back to the circumstances which made this Valley Forge famous. Go back for a hundred years—and just here I will go back to the time of the campaign of Valley Forge and produce a letter written on the twelfth day of January, 1777, by a Revolutionary soldier

to his wife, written from Philadelphia to Virginia, and here is the letter. That letter was written by a boy nineteen years of age, who left his home in Virginia six weeks after his marriage, and when he returned home again, two years later, he found his daughter, my father's mother, a babe in arms, and you may imagine how pathetic the story is which is told here.

"PHILADELPHIA, January 12, 1777.

Dear Peggy:

This day I am leaving Philadelphia with the regiment to go to camp. Last night we heard the King's Seventh Regiment was entirely taken. To-day we hear by the Major, who comes from camp, that there has been a great battle in the Jerseys, and that Howe's army is half taken prisoners and killed. Soldiers are flocking from every point, which I hope will end the war this winter if our people behave as well as they have. Within three weeks two thousand Hessians and British have been brought to this city. Enclosed I send you Saturday's paper. Give my love to relations, and compliments to friends, and write at the first opportunity. Direct your letters to be left at the Conestoga wagon in Philadelphia and I shall get them. I expect to get home in about three months. Beg Mr. Abbot to write to me. The soldiers are all dressed in regimentals at the expense of the continent, and have received all their wages. God bless you and my brothers. I am your most affectionate husband wherever I go.

JOHN CROPPER."

I find that this young fellow left his home, came to Philadelphia and expected to go home in about three months. He went home in about three years. Let us look then for a moment and follow the fortunes of this young man as illustrating the fortunes of the Revolutionary soldier.

He was writing at a moment when defeat and disaster had marked almost every step of our Revolutionary struggle; and yet one victory was recent, and perhaps the most wonderful of all Washington's victories. When in the bare ice and snow at a time when the British were asleep, as it were, Washington conceived and executed the wonderful task of crossing the Delaware at night and capturing them, and following them up to Princeton, where he again won another victory; and that was his last for a long time to come. Howe had toyed with him about the Jerseys; had retreated and advanced, and

he did not know what were his plans. Like some great amphibious creature he had crossed over to Staten Island, disappeared in the sea and reappeared on the Delaware. Washington headed towards Philadelphia, and again Howe disappeared to sea. Washington did not know where he was, until at last the British had come up almost at the mouth of the Susquehanna, but the Americans were there to meet them. At the end of three months, when this writer expected to go home, he was camping at Brandywine.

The British kept Philadelphia, and our soldiers were only relieved at last by the victory of Gates over Burgoyne in the month of December, 1777. The American army numbered about eleven thousand in this little valley, ragged, dirty, despairing, unpaid, and with everything to discourage them. The British were triumphant almost everywhere with the exception of Gates over Burgoyne. Washington celebrated that, and I am afraid he celebrated it in a way that would not suit the Prohibitionists. He issued an order directing that in recognition of the great victory, that at four o'clock in the afternoon all the troops be paraded and that a gill of rum be given to each man. A similar order was issued at this place on the first of January, 1778.

In looking up some facts in the Congressional Library some months since, I was permitted to examine the orderly book General Washington kept, and made here in this very house, and it was a curious book; one which gives very minutely the inside life of this camp. It gives almost everything that was going on, and you could almost see the fatherly care of Washington over these men; that was the most wonderful feature of the whole thing. Among the old papers in my possession I find here a written manuscript addressed by Gen. Scammel:

“HEADQUARTERS VALLEY FORGE, Jan. 27, 1778.

Sir: If the duty has become small and proper for a captain's command there can be no objections to your leaving the place. Col. Hampton is at Bethlehem, Easton or Allentown. I refer you to him, if he thinks you may return with propriety and if the good of the service admits of it. Report to Col. Hampton of our proceedings and the particular business

you have transacted, so as to give him just a little insight of what remains to be done for the good of the service in that quarter.

Your most obedient and humble servant.

ALEXANDER SCAMMEL, Ad. Gen.

Maj. John Cropper, at Bethlehem."

And here is his diary, not for the year 1778, but beginning on the first of January, 1779; also his furlough and a memorandum of distances and stages on his way home. You may recognize some of them: "New Windsor," "Alanaca Court House," "Cross Roads," "Lamberton's Meeting House," "Philadelphia," "Darby," "Dover," "Draw Bridge," "Many Piclicans."

But to return to the proceedings here and discuss them. Let us imagine we are back, and this is once more Washington's headquarters; let us see around and about us the Revolutionary soldiers; most of them were Pennsylvanians and Virginians. I find that there were fifteen Virginia regiments in the camp, and I find that more Virginians were court martialed than any others in camp; but you must not laugh too loud, for the Pennsylvanians were very close behind. The same trouble was had here as we had in the last war with regard to controlling the men. One day Gen. Washington goes out and warns the men that the owner of a certain house says that the Revolutionary soldiers steal and take away more things than the British. Another day he states that he finds the men are cutting up their tents to make roofs for their huts, and issues this order:

"As fast as men go into huts the tents are to be returned to the Quartermaster General."

Another order that will interest the ladies was that the Commissaries were to issue soap without delay, and if they could not get hard soap to issue soft soap. On the sixth it was ordered that John Rillis be shot for going to Philadelphia and returning without leave. On the eighth day the order was issued that gaming was again growing in camp, and the General, therefore, in the most severe terms, says that this vice must stop and forbids cards and dice. About two weeks after that the camp was informed that the extra month's pay would

be paid next day, and notice was also given that a few lottery tickets were to be had in the Continental Lottery if applied for soon at headquarters. So you will notice that a distinction was made between gaming and a lottery. Here was a man who was trying to break up gaming in his camp and at the same time advising his soldiers to take their extra pay and invest it in lottery tickets. But mark one thing, his every care and watchfulness over the troops. One day an order goes out for the men to build racks for the horses to feed from, as feeding on the ground wastes a great deal of forage. Another order was issued to save the horns of the cattle that were killed, and two days after he instituted inquiries in camp for a comb maker to make them into combs. The General was informed one day that many of the men were unable to do duty on account of the itch, and he immediately directs that they be put in huts and anointed. Another day he directs them to boil out the feet of the cattle and make oil to grease their guns. And so it goes. Another day he established a market under the most careful regulations, and I think there are not less than twenty orders issued from headquarters putting the price on whisky, brandy, rum, apple jack, etc., as well as the more substantial things which were also regarded as luxuries at that time. In every way Washington's careful oversight is manifested. We hear a great deal about the men not being well fed here. I examined well into the rations that were delivered here, and it is my impression that if the rebels under Lee had been as well fed as the troops were here, they would be fighting now. They had good beef and good bread. They were not very well clothed, but that difficulty was soon removed and Gen. Washington directed that those who were not well enough clothed to do guard duty should report to the bread house and make cartridges.

The army, as it was assembled here, contained the very pink of the Revolutionary forces. I should not speak of Virginians particularly, but I like to talk about Virginians, and you will pardon me, I know, if for a little while I refer to the personnel of those who were here. There was Spottswood with his regiment; there was Danl. Morgan with his minute

men; there was Philip Slaughter, the commander of the minute men, with the ensign of the rattlesnake and "Don't tread on me"; there was Woodford, who had made his reputation at Great Bridge and distinguished himself at Brandywine: there was Gen. Weedon: there was Greshford; there was Heath, one of the distinguished line whose name has furnished soldiers in every war, and his great-grandson is here to-day; there were the Pierces, the Corbies, the Harrisons, the Lees, and I find the record of fifteen Virginia regiments and I think seventeen Pennsylvania regiments forming the bulk of Washington's army. But before I part from the personnel let me say a word. In looking over the records in Washington I found many like this: "Washington served" such and such a place, "Green served" such and such a place, and so on. And at last I come to Daniel Morgan, the Colonel of the Eleventh Virginia, and his Revolutionary record is very brief and very gratifying: he is put down as having "served everywhere and surrendered nowhere." Now about these names; I find there to-day many names of Revolutionary regiments. I brought this book of Saffell's giving the names, rank, date of enlistment and date of commission of men comprising the regiments, and among the Virginia regiments there is scarcely a company but has the name of its representative among us now. Here I see Col. Chas. Harrison's Virginia regiment. In the late war there were not less than three Virginia regiments commanded by Col. Harrison's descendants; it is a household word there: it has even extended to Indiana. Here is John Blair; one of his descendants was a member of my company twenty years ago. I find the Dandrighes, the Singletons, the Picketts, the Wests, the Pendletons, the Pierces, the Richards, the Lees, the Meades, the Gaineses; almost a thousand names there that are familiar, for I suppose that there is no state that has preserved its families more distinctly than ours. But you must pardon me for talking of my own state. I think state pride is very much as described by Oliver Wendell Holmes when he says: "It is a theme upon which all grow eloquent, but few attentive."

We must remember that it was in this very house that

Gen. Washington felt the greatest pangs when the "Conway cabal" arose, and they tried to oust him from the Generalship; they tried to supplant him during the entire winter and made so great an impression on Congress that they nearly removed him. You can imagine what Washington suffered during the six months spent here. I find an order in Gen. Washington's book directing the troops to stop drilling. Who ever heard of such a thing as an army to stop drilling? But the fact was that these troops coming from different parts of the country were drilling some one way and some another; there was no uniformity among them, and a General could not give a command because the troops would not understand it, and the order was that the troops should stop drilling, except as was necessary in guard mounting. This continued until Baron Steuben reduced it to uniformity, and when they crossed the river we had an army reduced to one system of discipline for the first time.

In my mind's eye I can see enter that gate a quick light form, who hurries up the path to take Washington's hand. It is Ethan Allen come to shake hands with Gen. Washington and greet him "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." I can see time and again that great friend of Washington's, Cadwalader, who was so outraged at the cabal against him that he threw his glove in Conway's face, and then took him out when dueling was permitted and shot him. I can see in my fancy the ever ready Varnum of Rhode Island. I can see Light Horse Harry Lee hang his reins across the fence and hurry to report the last movements of the enemy to Washington. I can see Lafayette, who had come over here to cast his lot with our republic, and Green, and Knox, and all those figures of the past come before us as if they stood in life again.

The man who does not draw enthusiasm from these reflections has lost, indeed, the feeling of pride in his country and his people.

Ladies and gentlemen, standing here as I am, half Virginian and half Pennsylvanian—and either sinks into utter insignificance when I remember that I am an American—I be-

lieve that the time is here when that flag, whose stripes come from the blood that was shed for us here, not from the enemy, but from the long suffering of the troops on the frozen ground at Valley Forge, that flag is the flag not of one state, but of all. To-day, one hundred and ten years from that time, it seems like a dream when we attempt to realize what has happened since. It seems like a dream that any considerable number of American citizens could be found who believed that this great nation formed by them not only could but should be dismembered. Thank God it is a dream, as far as its realization is concerned. I hope a hundred years from now that our descendants—yours and mine—forgetting the differences of the past, will come back here and review the benefits of this one hundred years which have made such a nation possible. I believe that when the history of the Revolutionary War is finally understood, it will not be the brilliant battles; it will not be the wild rush that won the fight, but the secret of it all will be the weary, silent moments spent here in this Valley Forge by the American soldiers, showing that they were not only capable of doing, but that they were capable of suffering.

[Reported by William H. Fairies, Stenographer.]

Now come from far to view the spot,
Where valiant souls, in want and pain,
To ages taught a lesson plain—
The lesson never shall be forgot.

Their battles for a season done;
The while they wrought, rude huts to rear,
His lone tent pitched on hillside near,
Beside them watched their Washington!

Dread Winter's storm and want and cold!
What force could be more fierce than they?
What profit to survive the fray
And perish here from life untold?

They gave their lives for us—shall we
Contemn the rights they died to gain?
Their toll and trial all in vain,
Could we to-day forgetful be.

VALLEY FORGE CAMPGROUND.

BY ELLWOOD ROBERTS.

To thy bleak hills, forlorn and drear,
There came—one chill December day,
So far it seems an age away—
A host whose mem'ry lingers here.

The courage theirs all ills to dare—
At Brandywine they fought and bled,
From Germantown's lost field they fled—
Disease and famine they could bear.

They made it consecrated ground—
The brave men, unto freedom true,
Who suffered here the long months thro',
Unyielding as the hills around!

Men come from far to view the spot,
Where valiant souls, in want and pain,
To ages taught a lesson plain—
The lesson ne'er shall be forgot.

Their battles for a season done;
The while they wrought, rude huts to rear,
His lone tent pitched on hillside near,
Beside them watched their Washington!

Dread Winter's storm and want and cold!
What foes could be more fierce than they?
What profit to survive the fray
And perish here from ills untold?

They gave their lives for us—shall we
Contemn the rights they died to gain?
Their toil and trial all in vain,
Could we to-day forgetful be.

VALLEY FORGE CAMPGROUND.

BY ELWOOD ROBERTS.

To thy bleak hills, forever and a day,
There came—one still December day,
So far it seems an age away—
A host whose memory lingers here.

The courage took all life to date—
At Brandywine they fought and died,
From Germantown's lost field they fled—
Disease and famine they could bear.

They made it connected ground—
The brave men, unto freedom true,
Who suffered here the long months thro',
Unyielding as the hills around!

Men come from far to view the spot,
Where valiant souls in want and pain,
To ages taught a lesson plain—
The lesson never shall be forgot.

Their battle for a nation done;
The while they wrought, rude hate to rear,
His lance fast plucked on hillside near,
Beside them watched their Washington!

Dread Winter's storm and want and cold!
What loss could be more fierce than they?
What grief to survive the fray,
And perish here from the nation?

They gave their lives for us—shall we
Commend the rights they died to gain?
Their toll and what all in vain,
Could we to-day forgetting be.

They mingled their heroic dust
With soil that lies beneath our feet—
What altar's offering more complete?
Was ever shown sublimer trust?

These fields are consecrated ground!
Unselfish deeds that here were done,
Endurance which our blessings won,
Have hallowed all these hills around!

When the army of Washington left Whitemarsh with the expectation of going into winter quarters, Matson's ford, where Conshohocken now is, was the objective point, it being designed to locate at or near the pass then known as "The Gulph," where the road to Philadelphia leads through a narrow defile between towering hills. It was owing to the merely accidental presence of Lord Cornwallis with several thousand British troops who had been on a foraging expedition, that the main body of the American army crossed at Swedes' ford, now Norristown, four miles above, on the Schuylkill.

The vanguard of the army left Whitemarsh an hour after sunrise on the 11th of December, 1777. The weather was wintry and the ground, though bare of snow, was frozen hard, and the tradition has been handed down that the army might have been tracked by the blood flowing from the badly shod or bare feet of Washington's soldiers on the march. A few miles brought them to the Schuylkill, Sullivan's division constituting the advance. Here an attempt was made to effect the passage on a rough bridge which had been thrown across a short time previously, under the orders of General Greene. No sooner had those in the front rank crossed the river, however, than the enemy were discerned on the hills in the vicinity. Washington was promptly informed of the fact, Sullivan was recalled, and the troops withdrew to the hills on the left bank of the river, on which Conshohocken has since been built, the whole army by this time being on the ground.

The British retired next day, but meantime it had been decided by Washington and his generals to cross the river at Swedes' Ford, and on December 12 the crossing was effected. Wagons to the number of thirty-six were backed into the

stream, one against another, and covered with a rude floor of rails. The whole night was spent by the army in passing across. At sunrise all were ready for the short march to the Gulph, where they lay nearly a week, a light snow and a cold rain falling meantime. If it was intended, as some maintain, that the encampment should be located at the Gulph, the idea was soon abandoned, for camp was broken on the morning of the 19th, and the march to Valley Forge was begun. The previous day the Thanksgiving ordered by Congress on account of the surrender of Burgoyne had been duly celebrated with such unction as was possible to a half-starved army which had no regular base of supplies, which was destitute of shelter, and was very poorly provided with clothing.

Washington in his general orders about this time said, in support of his plan for the encampment:

"We must make ourselves the best shelter in our power. With alacrity and diligence, huts may be erected that will be warm and dry. In these the troops will be compact, and more secure against surprise than if divided, and at hand to protect the country. These cogent reasons have induced the general to take post in the neighborhood of this camp, and, influenced by them, he persuades himself that the officers and soldiers, with one heart and one accord, will resolve to surmount every difficulty with a fortitude and patience becoming their profession, and the sacred cause in which they are engaged."

These huts were, Washington says, to be 14 by 16 feet each, the sides, ends and roofs made with logs; the roofs made tight with split slabs, or some other way; the sides made tight with clay; a fireplace made of wood and secured with clay on the inside eighteen inches thick; this fireplace to be on the rear of the huts; the door to be in the end next the street; the door to be made of split oak slabs, unless boards can be procured; the side walls to be six and a-half feet high. The officers' huts were to form a line in the rear of the troops, one hut to be allowed each general officer; one to the staff of each brigade; one to the field officer of each regiment; and one to every twelve non-commissioned officers and soldiers. General Wayne wrote to Judge Peters, of Philadelphia, December 30, while these huts were being erected: "We are busy in

forming a city. My people will be covered in a few days. I mean as to huts, but half naked as to clothing."

Until their work was done, Washington remained in his tent without a fire except that of logs outside. To facilitate the work he offered prizes to those in each regiment who should finish their labor most quickly, securing the best results. Until all was done he felt that he must remain where he had pitched his tent.

Washington remained in his marquee until New Year's day or somewhat later, when, the soldiers being as comfortable as possible in their newly finished huts, he took up his quarters in the mansion of Isaac Potts, three-fourths of a mile away, close to the junction of the Schuylkill river and Valley creek. He had promised his men that he would share in their hardships and partake of every inconvenience of the situation, and he literally fulfilled all, only seeking the shelter of a roof when all that could be done for the comfort of the soldiers had been accomplished.

The story of Washington's life at the Headquarters is perhaps the most familiar of all the history of the winter that followed, to the readers of the present generation. But it must not be imagined for a moment that Washington remained secluded there, or that he was a stranger to his officers and men, whose rude habitations covered the wooded hillsides of the vicinity. He made the rounds of the camp occasionally, in order to gain an idea of the condition of the army and of its most pressing needs, which he did not fail to urge from time to time upon the attention of Congress. He visited his generals at their various headquarters. He was at the formal dinner given by Wayne under the trees near his headquarters at the Walker mansion in the late spring of 1778, accompanied, as a matter of course, by his amiable wife. His face and form were familiar to all the men whom he commanded, and all gathered fresh inspiration to heroic endurance from his presence. That he was perfectly familiar with their situation is shown by his appeals in their behalf. On December 23, he said:

"We have, besides a number of men confined to hospitals

for want of shoes, and others in farm houses on the same account, 2989 men now in camp unfit for duty, because they are barefoot and otherwise naked. Our numbers have decreased 2000 men since the 4th inst. from the hardships and exposures they have undergone, numbers having been obliged for want of blankets to sit up all night by fires instead of taking rest in a natural and common way."

His testimony to the courage and patience of the men under him proves his knowledge of their condition to the minutest detail:

"Without arrogance or the smallest deviation from truth, it may be said that no history now extant can furnish an instance of an army's suffering such uncommon hardships as ours has done, and bearing them with the same patience and fortitude. To see men without clothes to cover their nakedness, without blankets to lie upon, without shoes (for the want of which their marches might be traced by the blood from their feet), and almost as often without provisions as with them, marching through the frost and snow, and at Christmas taking up their winter quarters within a day's march of the enemy without a house or a hut to cover them until these could be built, and submitting without a murmur, is a proof of patience and obedience which, in my opinion, can scarce be paralleled."

There are no other scenes with which memories of Washington are so inseparably associated as those of Valley Forge and the hills surrounding it, whether we view him on his way to the place, contemplating the blood-stained foot-prints of his men; in the tent under the tree from which he watched the erection of the miserable hovels that sheltered his soldiers; in the headquarters at the Potts mansion attending to the round of duties devolving upon the commander of an army; in the woods praying to Almighty God for the success of his country's cause; on his rounds among the various brigades and regiments, or at work preparing his daily reports to Congress. We may go to Philadelphia, where a few years later, the war of independence successfully ended, he presided as chief magistrate over the interests and moulded the destinies of the new republic; we may journey to Mount Vernon, where he lived and died and where his tomb is visited annually by pilgrims from his own land and all lands; we may wander over that

beautiful city by the Potomac which was laid out in accordance with his own suggestion and which is to-day the capital of the greatest nation in the world—we may do all this, and yet fail to find anywhere that close and perfect identification with hill and valley, field and wood, that we recognize in the remains that yet exist of the occupation of Valley Forge by the army and its great leader a hundred and twenty-one years ago.

Nothing strikes the visitor to Valley Forge more forcibly than the excellent preservation of the forts and earthworks. Fort Washington and Fort Huntington and the breastworks in their vicinity are in as good condition as one would expect to find them after the lapse of twenty-five or thirty years. Nearly a century and a quarter has intervened since their construction, and their outlines are still distinctly marked, so that it needs no great stretch of the imagination to see the work in progress. What vast labor it must have been to those who undertook it in the most inclement season of the year, and a notably hard winter at that! Lower down the slope the fortifications which once existed have been leveled by the plough, but enough remain to demonstrate the unconquerable spirit that animated the officers and soldiers of the American army, which guaranteed from the beginning the ultimate success of the cause in whose behalf they wrought.

The written history of Valley Forge deals very largely with the commanding general and his principal subordinates. It dwells upon Washington's Headquarters and those who were nearest him in command. It describes the fortifications which remain intact, but it says little of the campground where lay, far below, the half-starved, ill-clad, suffering soldiers, whose valor and devotion to duty made freedom a possibility. It touches very lightly upon the rude huts in which they passed long months, the daily routine of drill, and the laborious work of cutting wood and transporting it to camp, often from a considerable distance. Even now the visitor to Valley Forge goes to the headquarters and the forts, and, in many cases, ignores the fact that the dust of thousands of brave men

who perished lies beneath the sod or the waving wheat or the freshly-plowed cornfields on the farms in the vicinity.

The various headquarters are full of interest, but the campground itself, with its unknown and unnamed graves, should very properly receive a share of attention from visitors. Around the heights of Valley Forge clusters recollections and traditions that are enduring. Almost every old road that leads to one of the fords of the river, recalls the story of some demonstration by Washington's troops. The associations are well calculated to arouse pride in one's country and to stimulate every patriotic impulse.

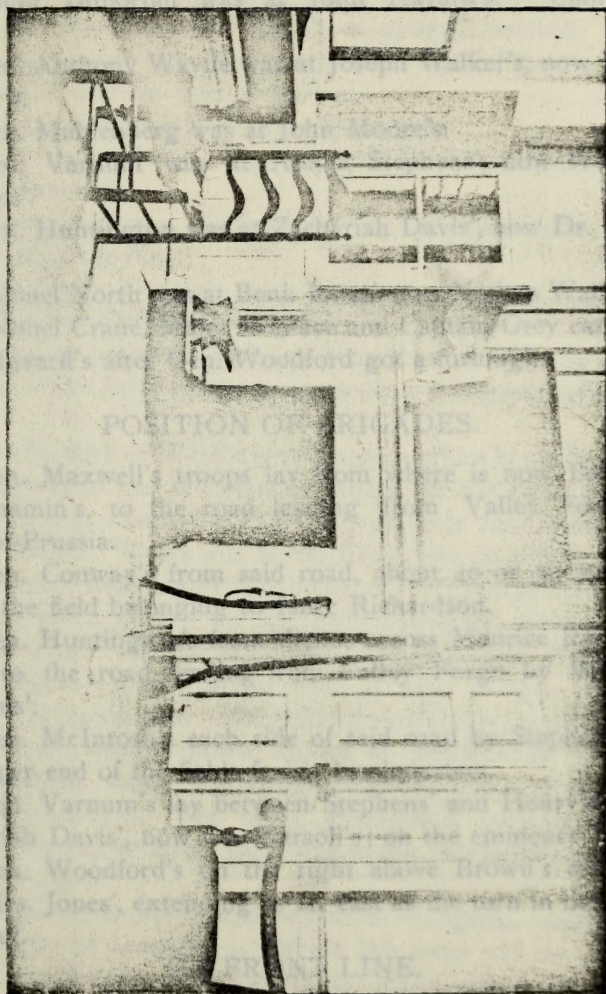
Everyone who comes here from whatever portion of this great republic, should be the better for his visit. Whoever walks upon the soil hallowed by the deeds, and consecrated by the graves of Revolutionary heroes, should feel an interest in their story. Whoever gazes upon the magnificent view which Washington beheld on that memorable morning of June, a hundred and twenty-one years ago, when the encampment at Valley Forge was broken up and the army marched away to new conflicts at Monmouth and elsewhere—should draw a new inspiration from the scene. There lingers still and will remain on every height and in every vale for ages to come a halo that cannot grow dim, a renown that cannot fade. Future generations will come here to look upon the ground dedicated to freedom by sacrifice and heroism, and ages hence pilgrimages will be made to the patriotic shrines of Valley Forge. From a paper dating back many years, and in the handwriting of William Davis, then an old man, is obtained the following information as to the location of various headquarters and the position of different brigades:

THE HEADQUARTERS.

Gen. Washington's headquarters were at Isaac Potts', now Mrs. Ogden's.

Gen. Lord Stirling was at Parson Currie's, now J. B. Walker's.

Gen. Lafayette was at Samuel Havard's, now Edward Wilson's.



WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS, VALLEY FORGE.

(Interior View.)

From a Photograph by William H. Richardson.

Gen. Knox was at John Brown's, now Mary Jones'.

Gen. Woodford was at John Havard's, now William Davis'.

Count Duportail was at John Havard's. Came in March.

Gen. Anthony Wayne was at Joseph Walker's, now Ivins Walker's.

Gen. Muhlenberg was at John Moore's.

Gen. Varnum was at Abijah Stephens', now William Stephens'.

Gen. Huntington was at Zachariah Davis', now Dr. Piersoll's.

Colonel North was at Benj. Jones', now Nathan Walker's.

Colonel Crane, Major Wallace and Captain Grey came to John Havard's after Gen. Woodford got a furlough.

POSITION OF BRIGADES.

Gen. Maxwell's troops lay from where is now Bernard McMenamin's, to the road leading from Valley Forge to King-of-Prussia.

Gen. Conway's from said road, about 40 or 50 perches across the field belonging to Isaac Richardson.

Gen. Huntington's from thence across Maurice Richardson's, to the road leading from Valley Forge by William Stephens'.

Gen. McIntosh's each side of said road by Stephens', at the upper end of the fields facing headquarters.

Gen. Varnum's lay between Stephens' and Henry's, then Zachariah Davis', now Dr. Piersoll's; on the eminence.

Gen. Woodford's on the right above Brown's orchard, now Mrs. Jones', extending as far east as the turn in the Baptist road.

ON FRONT LINE.

Gen. Knox about Camp school house, extending down towards limekilns. He commanded artillery, and it was ranged facing south.

Gen. Scott lay on Thomas Brown's patch, now owned

by Kendal, extending from point of hill to fence, 40 or 50 perches.

Gen. Wayne east of Scott, extending 40 or 50 perches.

Gen. Poor east of Wayne, about same distance.

Gen. Glover east of Poor, about 40 or 50 perches.

Gen. Larned east of Glover, about same distance.

Gen. Patterson east of Larned.

Gen. Weedon east of Gen. Patterson.

Gen. Peter Muhlenberg, east of Gen. Weedon, extending to the Schuylkill.

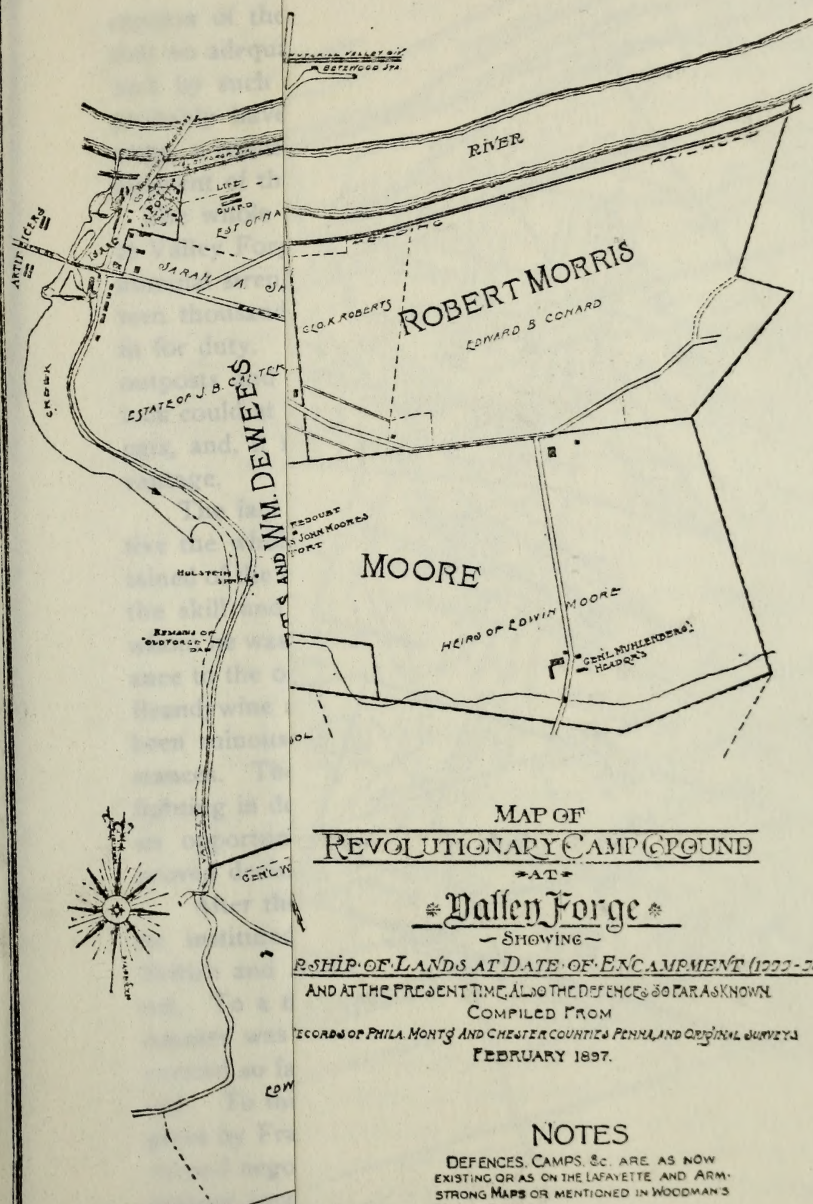
Gens. Patterson, Larned, Glover and Poor came from taking of Burgoyne.

The Major Generals were Lafayette, Lord Stirling, Sullivan, Lee and Greene.

It must be borne in mind that there have been many changes in the half-century or more since this paper was written.

The locality of Washington's headquarters is well known. Stirling was in the old colonial house on the farm now of Henry Evans. Lafayette's abiding place is now owned by Harry Wilson. Knox was at the farmhouse on the Mathews property now tenanted by Mr. Dawson. What was then John Havard's place adjoins the last-named property on the road towards Centreville, the buildings standing back from the road. Wayne's headquarters were at what is now William Henry Walker's home. Muhlenberg was at the property now owned by the heirs of Edwin Moore, on Trout creek, near the Port Kennedy road. Varnum was at the home of the late William Stephens. The other farmhouses mentioned are readily located, or their sites where the old buildings have been torn down.

• According to the official reports to Congress, which may undoubtedly be accepted as correct, the army was in a situation of the greatest peril during the entire winter, owing to sickness, lack of food, and the half-naked condition of the men. On several occasions they were absolutely without sustenance, and at no time during the winter did the army stores contain more than would be consumed in a very few days. It was the



MAP OF
REVOLUTIONARY CAMP GROUND

—AT—

Valley Forge

—SHOWING—

RESHIP-OF LANDS AT DATE OF ENCAMPMENT (1777-78)

AND AT THE PRESENT TIME, AND THE DEFENCES SO FAR AS KNOWN

COMPILED FROM

RECORDS OF PHILA. MONTGOMERY AND CHESTER COUNTIES PENNA. AND ORIGINAL SURVEYS

FEBRUARY 1897.

NOTES

DEFENCES, CAMPS, &c. ARE, AS NOW EXISTING OR AS ON THE LAFAYETTE AND ARMY-STRONG MAPS OR MENTIONED IN WOODMAN'S VALLEY FORGE

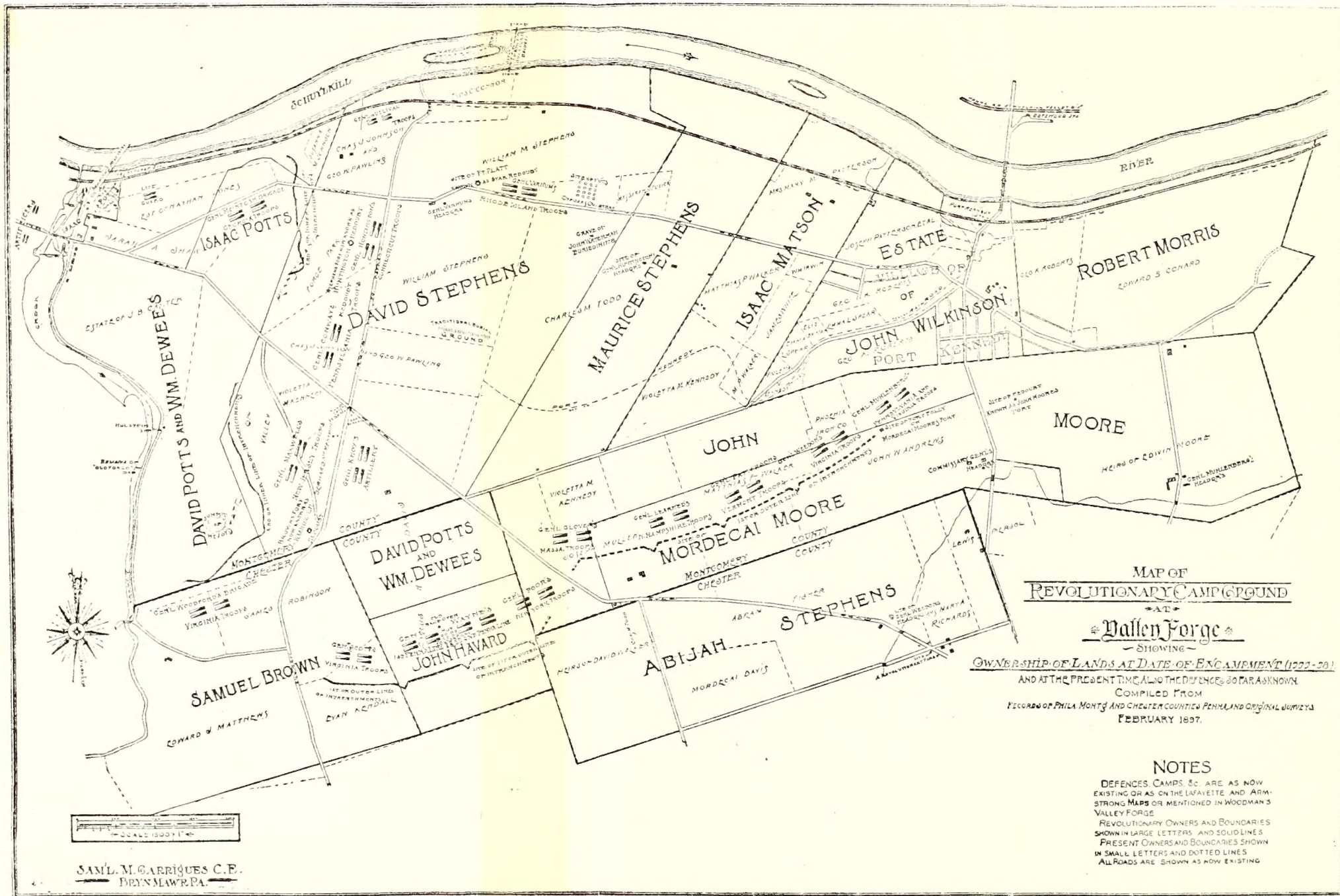
REVOLUTIONARY OWNERS AND BOUNDARIES SHOWN IN LARGE LETTERS, AND SOLID LINES

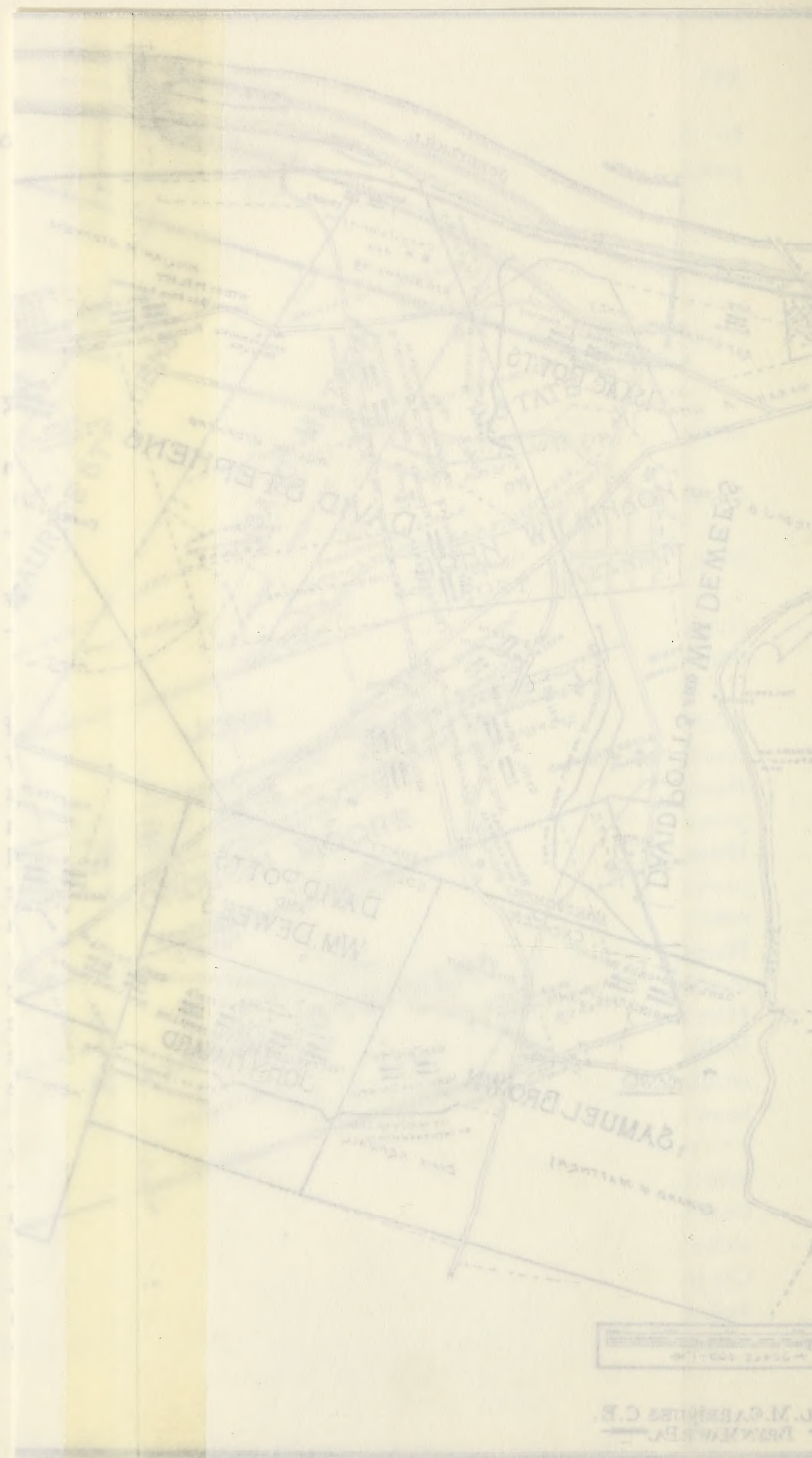
PRESENT OWNERS AND BOUNDARIES SHOWN

IN SMALL LETTERS AND DOTTED LINES

ALL ROADS ARE SHOWN AS NOW EXISTING

SAM'L. M. GARRIG
 BRYN MAWR





opinion of those who were in a position to judge correctly that no adequate resistance could have been offered to an attack by such a force as that under Howe, and there would probably have been no alternative but disbandment of the army, a result happily avoided by the weakness and mismanagement of those in command at Philadelphia.

The whole number of men who went into winter quarters at Valley Forge did not exceed eleven thousand, although the nominal strength of the army was much greater, about seventeen thousand, and of these nearly three thousand were unfit for duty. Owing to the great number required to occupy outposts and watch the enemy, the British, by a sudden attack could at any time have largely outnumbered their opponents, and, it might be imagined, had them at a great disadvantage.

The fact that the British remained almost entirely inactive the whole winter, indicates the high opinion they entertained of the courage and constancy of their antagonists, and of the skill and energy of the commander and the officers by whom he was surrounded. They had seen the stubborn resistance to the onset of regular troops that had been displayed at Brandywine and at Germantown, contests which would have been ruinous to the American cause under different circumstances. They had a dread of encountering men who were fighting in defense of their homes and firesides, and neglected an opportunity to strike a blow that might possibly have proved decisive of the contest.

After the arrival of Steuben and the thorough drill which he instituted, the disparity in fighting ability between the British and American soldier became more and more apparent. To a determination to achieve the independence of his country was added, in the one case, the better discipline that exerted so favorable an effect upon the later battlefields of the war. To this, perhaps, as much as to the generous assistance given by France through the intercession of Lafayette and the shrewd negotiations of Franklin and Deane, were due the subsequent successes of the American army and the surrender of Cornwallis, which practically ended the contest.

In view of the information undoubtedly given from time to time to Howe of the weak and ineffective condition of Washington's army, especially during the early days of the encampment, his failure to undertake any enterprise intended to improve his advantage, is somewhat remarkable. His inaction is another important link in the chain of events leading to the ultimate object which Washington had always in view, whether hazarding a battle or eluding a force that outnumbered his own—the attainment of independence and the establishment of a representative government in America.

Looking over the old campground at Valley Forge in the golden sunshine of a lovely summer day, it is extremely difficult to realize the condition of the American army during the encampment. Standing on the highest part of the eminence on the slope of which Fort Huntington stands, there is an excellent view, not only of the old campground, but of the country for miles around. All is bright with the varied hues of the season. Close at hand prominent objects of interest are the fort itself, the earthworks nearly as clear cut and distinct as ever at this distance; the old Stephens residence, still owned by the family, where General Varnum had his headquarters; the drill ground where Steuben instructed the soldiers; the hillside grave of Waterman; the woods where Wayne's troops were encamped and in which hut holes and the remains of the oven in use for baking bread for the soldiers when any flour could be had, may yet be distinctly seen. On the next slope are the remains of Fort Washington, less distinct than those of its twin fortification, Huntington, but still clearly to be traced. A long line of earthworks through the woods back of them is still found in good condition. Below are orchards and waving cornfields, beneath whose soil lie the remains of the army of unknown dead who succumbed to famine, or wounds, or disease, while their more fortunate brethren survived to continue the contest and, perhaps, to share in the exultation of the whole land at the triumphs won at Yorktown and elsewhere.

All this and much more can be seen close at hand, and further the view widens so as to embrace a large section of

Montgomery and Chester counties. That part of the landscape included in the circle of vision takes in much of the Great Valley and that of the Schuylkill. Six miles away Norristown nestles along the river, its spires indicating the exact location. The Gulf Hills, Barren Hill, Edge Hill and other landmarks are within the range of vision.

To realize, even measurably, the situation of Washington's men, one should go to Valley Forge in the dead of winter when the beautiful landscape on which the eye rests with delight in summer, is buried in snow drifts; when the trees stand bare and black against the sombre background of clouds; when desolation has taken the place of the life and beauty that crown the hills and brighten the valleys around. It is only in winter that the mind can fully grasp the gloom and sadness that enshrouded the patriot army when it lay in the shadow of the hills that overlook Valley Forge campground.

The tract of woodland on the Todd farm on the river side of the road from Port Kennedy to Valley Forge, though not of very great extent, is worthy of a careful examination. It is in the woods that the hut holes are to be found in their greatest perfection, because here the disturbing influence of the plough has not been felt.

The view from this point, although not to be compared, perhaps, with that from the summit of Mount Joy, and from other heights in the vicinity, is magnificent. It takes in all or nearly all the ground covered by the fortifications and the encampment, and much more. The hut holes are distinctly marked and can be readily counted. They are probably twenty-five in number, and are very much like those on the ground occupied by Wayne's troops of the Pennsylvania line.

Standing on the slope of Mount Joy or rambling over the old campground and gazing on the remains of the rude huts erected by Washington's soldiers, the thought will arise in the mind of everyone who feels a patriotic interest in the destiny of the grandest republic the world has ever known, that the whole country should have the sense of ownership in this soil, beneath which are graves of a multitude of heroes who

died that the immortal Declaration of Independence might become a living reality. It seems selfish to restrict such a possession to a single state.

Pennsylvania has done well in acquiring the land on which are the more prominent fortifications that still exist. There ought to be no hesitation in making the necessary appropriation to put in proper condition for public use and enjoyment every acre that has been purchased. This need not interfere with the undertaking that belongs to the whole nation—the acquisition of the ground covered by the brigades commanded by Wayne, Varnum, Huntington and others, marked as it is by hut holes, the remains of the outer line of breast-works, the graves of Waterman and hundreds more whose last resting place is unmarked. The soil where these rest is none the less sacred to liberty, patriotism and national union.

Valley Forge campground is hallowed by the suffering and death of patriots who sacrificed all for their country. It should become the property of the state, or preferably, perhaps, of the general government, which owes it to future generations to preserve intact, as far as may be, the relics that remain of the occupation by Washington's army. Dwellings then in use, like the original portion of the residence of William Stephens, should be carefully guarded as memorials of Revolutionary times. In any other country such action would have been taken years ago, and it ought not to be postponed any longer.

Washington's Headquarters is the property of the Centennial and Memorial Association, which will take care that it remains substantially as it now is for ages to come. The museum of Revolutionary relics is of much value, and should be made as complete as possible. The Valley Forge Commission has secured about 250 acres of land including most of the fortifications which remain in good condition. An appropriation to make needed improvements on this tract should be forthcoming from the Legislature. Without this, the money already expended would be practically thrown away. The ground covered by the encampment should be secured by the United States government and set apart forever for public

use as a memorial of heroic endurance and self-sacrificing patriotism. The three proprietors need not clash. Each would have its own sphere of action and all would be working for a common purpose—to preserve as an inalienable inheritance of future ages the ground sanctified by the deeds of heroes done in the cause of their country.

The study of Washington's orders and despatches while he was at the Potts mansion at Valley Forge gives much insight into his character. Only a man of the greatest courage could have preserved a cheery and hopeful exterior amid surroundings so gloomy and so disheartening. One can read between the lines faith in the justice of his cause and a full belief in its ultimate triumph. For the time being it was impossible to accomplish anything. The army could only wait, and its leader could only bide his time, however impatiently, but, just as certainly as spring was returning after the snow and storm of winter, just so surely were brighter days in store in which the cause of the colonies would be victorious and their independence be firmly established and everywhere recognized among men. There is not a line written by Washington at Valley Forge which does not reflect this belief, destined to be fully realized in the end.

It is impossible to wander through the rooms of Washington's Headquarters, or to walk over the grounds so often pressed by the feet of the American commander, without an increased feeling of admiration for the man who was capable of conducting so apparently hopeless a cause to a successful issue. It is easy to argue that it was French intervention, or this or that circumstance, which determined the favorable result. "If this had not happened," it is common to hear, "the cause of independence might have been lost irretrievably." It could not have been lost while a leader of such resources was in command. Temporary defeats might be encountered, as they were from time to time, but the cause could not fail with him as its leader. Discomfited in one direction he would turn elsewhere. With that indefatigable devotion to the work he had undertaken which characterized him from first to last, he was unconquerable—there could be no such thing as failure. Yorktown was the natural outcome of Valley Forge, and had

French aid been lacking, its place would have been supplied by some other expedient.

Washington's position at Valley Forge was far from being pleasant or comfortable. The peculiar mode of conducting the military affairs of the colonies, and especially the Commissary's and Quartermaster General's departments, through the authority of Congress, greatly embarrassed operations at all times, and was a constant source of annoyance to the Commander-in-Chief during the encampment. Whatever Washington could do to promote the comfort of his men, in directing the construction of their huts and otherwise, he made haste to accomplish. That portion of military management which was directly under the authority of Congress and the men it had chosen to superintend the same, he could not control. The army was suffering as the result of a bad system of management for which he was not responsible.

The Commissary department had been in charge of Trumbull. When he relinquished the position, there seems to have been no responsible head for a time. Jeremiah Wadsworth, of Connecticut, was elected to this department by Congress on the 9th of April. The Quartermaster General's department, nominally in charge of General Mifflin, had also been in a wretched condition. General Greene took charge of it on March 2, with John Cox and Charles Pettit for his assistants.

Meantime Washington was busily engaged in memorializing Congress in behalf of the troops. A committee of that body, consisting of Francis Dana, Joseph Reed, Gouverneur Morris, Charles Carroll and others, remained nearly three months in or near camp, their sessions being held at Moore Hall, now Judge Pennypacker's country-seat. He wrote on February 16, to Governor Clinton, of New York, that there "had been little less than a famine in camp for some days." This seems, however, to have been an experience quite common.

History records the fact that Washington himself made choice of Valley Forge for the encampment in December, 1777, his officers inclining to various locations—Reading, Lancaster, Wilmington, and the one chosen.

The place was admirably calculated for the purpose desired—to be near enough to Philadelphia, occupied by Howe and his army, to observe his movements and prevent him from collecting supplies from the surrounding country, and at the same time to be comparatively secure in case of an attack by the British General. A careful inspection of the campground, the fortifications and the general surroundings at this day must convince the observer that the place selected by Washington was the best adapted, all things considered, that could have been chosen.

The troops, occupying a semicircular line around the base of Mount Joy, with breastworks in front of them and strong fortifications on the brow of the hill, commanding the road from Philadelphia, to which they could retire in case of attack, were comparatively secure. In the rear, along Valley creek, the hill is practically inaccessible, because of its steepness, and the few points at which the enemy could have gained a footing could have been readily defended by a comparatively small force on the height above. The choice was wise, as the event proved, and clearly demonstrated the skill with which the American army was directed, in camp as well as on the battlefield.

All this is clearly seen to-day by one who makes a circuit of the entire grounds, and walks or drives over the road up Valley creek to the Centreville road. It was a position naturally of great strength, and the measures taken to fortify it rendered it practically impregnable to any but a vastly superior force, which the British did not possess. This was especially true after the winter months had passed, and the strength of the soldiers had been recuperated. The evacuation of Philadelphia by the English army in the early summer of 1778, before a blow had been struck, is of itself the strongest testimony to the care and good judgment which distinguished the preparation and execution of Washington's plans, that eventually secured the independence of the colonies—the aim of all his efforts at Valley Forge and elsewhere.

[Read at the Schwenksville Reunion of the Historical Society, Sept. 16, 1896.]

DR. GOVE MITCHELL.

BY HENRY R. MITCHELL.

The Mitchell family which settled in Middletown township, Bucks county, Pennsylvania, came from England in 1699. The first account we have is of Henry Mitchell, a carpenter in Marsden Lanes, Lancashire, England, who married Elizabeth Foulds, of the same place, by Friends' ceremony at the house of Stephen Sagars, Third-month 6th, 1675. (See records of Marsden Lanes Monthly Meeting.) They probably remained there until 1699.

In 1685, Henry Mitchell was sent to prison on account of his religious convictions (see Besse, vol. I, page 329). On Twelfth-mo. 16th, 1698, Marsden Lanes Monthly Meeting gave a certificate to Henry Mitchell, Elizabeth, his wife, and their children, who were about to remove to Pennsylvania. They took passage on the ship *Britannia*, which arrived in the Delaware river August 25, 1699.

During the voyage a pestilence broke out on the ship. The best account we have of it is from the letter of George Hawthorth, one of the passengers on the *Britannia* upon its memorable voyage, dated Philadelphia, 8th-mo. 26th, 1699 (see *Potter's American Monthly*, Vol. IV, page 169). It is as follows:

"After we left Liverpool, a long and tedious journey we had, for we being many overthronged the ship, I believe hurt many, for we had many distempers amongst us, as fevers, flux and jaundice, and many died at sea, about fifty-six, and at shore there died about twenty.

"Henry Mitchell died about midway; his son John is dead also; and one Ellis Schofield and Robert Brewer is dead.

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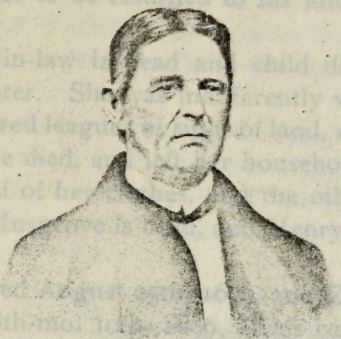
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Henry Mitchell died about midway; his son John is dead also; and one Ellis Schofield and Robert Brewer is dead

Hath left his goods to be returned to his kinfolk at Liverpool.

"My brother-in-law [unclear] child died about three days before my sister. She [unclear] willed most of the way, but one hundred [unclear] of land, she bore a child, and it died and she died, [unclear] household goods to my sister, and one-half of her [unclear] the other half she left to me." Thomas Mitchell was [unclear] Henry Mitchell's wife died at shore."



DR. GOVE MITCHELL

The ship arrived August [unclear] Elizabeth Mitchell died on shore 8th-mo. 10th day. This can be accounted for by two methods of dating. Prior to September, 1752, the "old style" calendar was in vogue, wherein two systems of reckoning were in use, the ecclesiastical and the historical. The ecclesiastical year began with March which was called the First-month, making January the Eleventh and Twelfth-months. The historical year began with January, so that it is easily explained by changing 8th-mo. 25, ecclesiastical, to October 25th, historical. This is again proved by the fact that Elizabeth Mitchell accompanied her children to their place of settlement, by the record of her death in Middletown Monthly Meeting where the Friends' certificate of Henry Mitchell's death was deposited.

The widow and her three children settled at what they called the Head of Tule [unclear] creek. Richard built and operated the first mill in Wrightstown and was quite a prominent man in the State's History of Bucks Co., pages 702, 703. Margaret married Stephen Twining.



Henry remained at the old mill and married Sarah Gove, daughter of Richard Gove of London, England. His son John married Margaret Stackhouse and John's son Pierson married Rebecca [unclear] daughter of John [unclear], all remaining at, or near, the old settlement. Pierson Mitchell's son, Gove Mitchell, who was born Tenth-month 27, 1781, removed to Hathora and in 1804 purchased the farm known as "The Moorland," about a mile above Hathora on the Old York road, and [unclear] there he spent the remainder of

REBECCA J. MITCHELL

Hath left his goods to be returned to his kinsfolks at Liverpool.

"My brother-in-law is dead and child died about three days before my sister. She was indifferently well most of the way, but one hundred leagues of sight of land, she bore a child, and it died and she died, and left her household goods to my sister, and one-half of her clothes, and the other half she left to me. Thomas Musgrove is dead, and Henry Mitchell's wife died at shore."

The ship arrived August 25th, 1699, and Elizabeth Mitchell died on shore 8th-mo. 10th, 1699. This can be accounted for by two methods of dating. Prior to September, 1752, the "old style" calendar was in vogue, wherein two systems of reckoning were in use, the ecclesiastical and the historical. The ecclesiastical year began with March, which was called the First-month, making January and February the Eleventh and Twelfth-months. The historical year began with January, so that it is easily explained by changing 8th-mo. 25, ecclesiastical, to October 25th, historical. This is again proved by the fact that Elizabeth Mitchell accompanied her children to their place of settlement, by the record of her death in Middletown Monthly Meeting, where the Friends' certificate of Henry Mitchell's death was deposited.

The widow and her three children settled at what they called the Head of Tide on the Neshaminy creek. Richard built and operated the first grist mill at Wrightstown and was quite a prominent man in his day (see Battle's History of Bucks Co., pages 702, 703, 704 and 465). Margaret married Stephen Twining.

Henry remained at the old homestead and married Sarah Gove, daughter of Richard Gove, of London, England. His son John married Margaret Stackhouse and John's son Pierson married Rebecca Allen, daughter of John Allen, all remaining at, or near, the original settlement. Pierson Mitchell's son, Gove Mitchell, who was born Tenth-month 27, 1781, removed to Hatboro and in 1804 purchased the farm known as "The Moorland," about a mile above Hatboro on the Old York road, and county line. There he spent the remainder of

his life practicing medicine. The farm passed to his oldest son, George Justice Mitchell, from him to his son J. Howard Mitchell, who still resides there, with his children and grandchildren.

Dr. Gove Mitchell received an ordinary education, and read medicine (as was the practice in those days) with Dr. Wilson, at Buckingham, for several years; he then entered the University of Pennsylvania in 1800, as a student of medicine, to finish his course.

In 1803 he married Rebecca Justice in Friends' Meeting, at Haddonfield, N. J. The same year he brought his bride to Hatboro, and located himself as a Doctor of Medicine in a house on the east side of the York road, south of where the Loller Academy now stands, remaining there for a year, when in 1804 he purchased the property a mile further up the road, at the junction of the Old York road and county line, to which he built additions at various times. The original residence had but four rooms, whilst his family increased rapidly, numbering eleven children all told.

In this residence he lived and practiced his calling until 1852, when age and increasing infirmities warned him to shift the burden to younger men, having rounded out a period of nearly fifty years in the arduous duties of a country doctor, which in those days was no sinecure. His patients were scattered in a circle of from ten to twelve miles, and the existing roads were anything but ideal, being miry and muddy in spring and fall, and rough in winter.

The charge in those days for professional services would hardly satisfy a modern doctor, being fifty cents per visit, including the medicine—certainly a modest charge for a five or ten-mile drive. He would never sue or distress a patient, so that his charity work was certainly laborious if not expensive.

A man of medium height, his dignity of manner, affable, kindly disposition, and tender sympathies caused him to be loved and respected by one and all in the community where he resided, and it was with great difficulty that he finally persuaded his patients to cease calling on him for advice when he felt

the need of rest from life's labors. He was a man of such even temper that nothing in the ordinary occurrences of life could ruffle it. On one occasion a hurricane unroofed his barn and killed some cattle during his absence. On his return his sister-in-law spied his "sulky" coming up the road, and wild with excitement and regret she ran down the road to meet him and tell the serious loss. The doctor, amazed at this greeting, stopped his horse to learn the trouble, which was recounted in tragic style. Then inquiring if any of the men were hurt, and being answered in the negative, he started his "nag," mildly remarking, "Well, sister, it might have been worse," and placidly drove away.

His home life was very sweet, husband and wife being devoted to each other, and whilst the wife naturally had most of the care of the children, yet his firm though gentle authority gave the key-note by which all things were governed.

He drew the hearts of men and women to him by the magic of his gentle love and the simple sweetness and tenderness of his manners.

He was a very faithful and consistent member of the Society of Friends, and in fair weather or foul attended meetings at Horsham, both First-day and mid-week, unless his professional duties detained him, and during his children's youth he was solicitous that they should likewise attend.

In the early days of quinine the price was so enormous that few country physicians could afford it, but Dr. Gove Mitchell was so impressed with its value he felt it was almost criminal not to keep it in his pharmacy. At that time the price was \$20 per ounce, and he had one of his sons take a load of hay to the city and invest the proceeds in quinine, bringing the package home in his vest pocket, getting it, as he did all his drugs, from the old "Klett" drug store at Third and Callowhill streets. When quinine was bought they required payment in gold. The coin was put in one scale and the quinine in the other, and when they balanced each other it was just right. In his living he was temperate in eating and drinking, one of his theories being that much bodily ailment comes through catering to our palates and stomachs. He often ad-

dressed his children and grandchildren, trying to impress this fact on their young minds by advising always to leave the table while they were yet able to enjoy a crust of sweet bread. Some of his grandchildren still bear this golden rule in mind, thus escaping dyspepsia and kindred troubles. He was a conscientious Friend and bore testimony against war and cruelty of any kind, declining to attend the militia drills, which was then the law and custom, nor would he pay the fine imposed for non-attendance, and consequently the tax gatherer would visit him, and on being refused payment, some article of farm or house would be seized and sold for this military debt. This process went on for many years, until even the tax collectors felt the injustice of such proceedings when it was a matter of conscience pure and simple, and finally the penalty was no longer enforced.

He died about four years after giving up his practice, passing over to the great majority in 1856, mourned, regretted and beloved by an entire neighborhood, nearly all of whom had at one time or another had the benefit of his professional skill, and honored him both as their doctor and friend.

The old homestead, which was practically rebuilt, was purchased by his eldest son, the late Justice Mitchell, in 1852; then it passed to his son, J. Howard Mitchell. With the exception of some slight interior changes the old house stands as he left it and as solid as the day it was built, a monument to an honest builder and a landmark of old times.

the great battle for our liberties." This was the substance of the message sent to Montgomery county, that a flag should be erected upon "Round Top." Our long residence in the hospitals at Gettysburg gave us the opportunity of understanding fully all the prominent points of interest in the battlefield, which was constantly before us.

The street upon which our tent stood looking directly toward it, if we but raised our eyes they rested upon "Calo's Hill," and plainly in the distance loomed up "Round Top," made forever memorable by the heroic conduct of the brave men of the Fifth Corps, who, by order of General Meade to General Sykes, directed it "to be held at all hazards."

THE FLAG ON "ROUND TOP," GETTYSBURG.

ADDRESS BY MRS. ANNA M. HOLSTEIN,

DELIVERED MAY 27, 1896, PRESENTING THE GETTYSBURG FLAG TO THE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY.

In my Gettysburg notes of our great Civil War I find this entry—"The Montgomery County Union Flag on 'Round Top'"—as the first notice concerning the historic flag now in this room before us.

When the fatiguing duties at "Camp Letterman General Hospital," Gettysburg, were over for the day, a few valued friends met daily in and around our tent (which, by the way, was one of the captured rebel tents with the officer's name that I cannot now recall, plainly marked upon it), and as regularly as the hour for this meeting came, the group discussed the propriety of placing a flag on a high staff to mark this noted point; and by giving to friends at home the opportunity of contributing to it, they could manifest their sympathy and esteem for the host who "here fought and won this great battle for our liberties." This was the substance of the message sent to Montgomery county, that a flag should be erected upon "Round Top." Our long residence in the hospitals at Gettysburg gave us the opportunity of understanding fully all the prominent points of interest in the battlefield, which was constantly before us.

The street upon which our tent stood looking directly toward it, if we but raised our eyes they rested upon "Culp's Hill," and plainly in the distance loomed up "Round Top," made forever memorable by the heroic conduct of the brave men of the Fifth Corps, who, by order of General Meade to General Sykes, directed it "to be held at all hazards."

THE FLAG ON "ROUND TOP," GETTYSBURG.

ADDRESS BY MRS. ANNA M. HOLSTEIN.

Delivered May 17, 1896, Presenting the Gettysburg Flag to the
Historical Society of Montgomery County.

In my Gettysburg notes of our great Civil War I find this entry--"The Montgomery County Union Flag on 'Round Top'--as the first notice concerning the historic flag now in this room before us.

When the fatiguing duties at "Camp Letterman General Hospital," Gettysburg, were over for the day, a few valued friends met daily in and around our tent (which, by the way, was one of the captured rebel tents with the officer's name that I cannot now recall, plainly marked upon it), and as regularly as the hour for this meeting came, the group discussed the propriety of placing a flag on a high seat to mark this noted point; and by giving to friends at home the opportunity of contributing to it, they could manifest their sympathy and esteem for the host who "here fought and won this great battle for our liberties." This was the substance of the message sent to Montgomery County, that a flag should be erected upon "Round Top." Our long residence in the hospitals at Gettysburg gave us the opportunity of understanding fully all the prominent points of interest in the battlefield, which was constantly before us.

The street upon which our tent stood looking directly toward it, it we but raised our eyes they rested upon "Culp's Hill," and plainly in the distance loomed up "Round Top," made forever memorable by the heroic conduct of the brave men of the Fifth Corps, who, under the General Meade, General Sykes, directed it "to be held at all hazards."

The intimation that a flag would be highly valued seemed to meet with the hearty assent of the ladies in this county. They soon began the work of collecting funds for it; but as I was constantly in hospitals then, and until the close of the war, I have now no opportunity of telling who the contributors were, as all I knew who were interested in it are "sleeping the sleep that knows no waking."

But of this fact we are well aware, that it was the citizens of Montgomery county who sent it. The flag is twenty-four feet long, thirteen feet wide, the blue ground nine feet long and seven feet wide; stars are five one way, seven the other, making thirty-five in all.

Mrs. Charles P. Harry, of Norristown, and Mrs. Isaac W. Holstein, of Upper Merion, were deputed to act as guard of honor in conveying it to the hospital at Gettysburg, which they did successfully.

Perhaps it would not be out of place to state here that this "Camp Letterman General Hospital," when organized, numbered three thousand patients, principally wounded men. Previous to its formation we were with the First Division Hospital of the Second Corps, in the woods on the bank of the stream, but came with them to the General Hospital, where we remained until all the patients were sent away, doing all I could for the wounded in the wards, at the same time filling the position of matron for that great hospital.

When the flag arrived an escort of convalescent wounded men, six in number, carried it in a horizontal position through the streets of the camp so that all the patients, while lying on their beds, could see it as it passed through the various wards, preceded by music and greeted everywhere with shouts and cheers.

The following day all who could be spared from the hospital, officers, surgeons, ladies and soldiers, joined the procession of ambulances and mounted men, in which the flag was borne to "Round Top," accompanied by music and the citizens of the town. A large concourse of persons manifested by their presence the interest they felt in the event.

Appropriate and eloquent addresses were delivered by

David Wills, Esq., of Gettysburg (who was afterwards Judge), J. F. Seymour, of New York, and Surgeon H. C. May, of the 145th New York. Dr. May was one of the resident surgeons of the hospital, and was also there during the battle. In his address he gave a graphic account of the fight as it appeared to him and described in glowing words the many historic localities now in sight before us from the summit of "Round Top," which constituted one of the flanks of the Federal position, and so singularly located that a flag on its very summit could be seen for miles in either direction.

Willing hands among the convalescent patients from "Camp Letterman General Hospital" had prepared and erected the staff upon which the flag was run up, 'mid the booming of artillery and the sweet strains of music. Thirty-five guns were fired, representing that number of stars then seen upon it. The ceremonies ended with leaving it in its chosen position upon the summit of "Round Top"—the first flag to be placed there after the battle. There it remained until there was danger of it being blown to pieces in the snows and storms of winter, when Mr. David Wills kindly removed it to his home in Gettysburg and took charge of it until his death. Several letters had passed between us concerning the disposition to be made of it. Recently his son-in-law, Mr. John A. McCurdy, forwarded it as desired.

I now have the pleasure of presenting it to the Historical Society of Montgomery County (Penna.) for preservation.

RESPONSE OF THE REV. T. R. BEEBER, D. D., ACCEPTING THE FLAG ON BEHALF OF THE SOCIETY.

We have high authority for saying:

"There are more things in heaven and earth
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy."

This is one of these strange things. The situation is unique.

A child is born in the native village of our friend, who has just presented this flag to us, the very year she left her father's

home to establish her home in this vicinity. And the child grew up possessing the family inheritance of interest in and friendship for this donor.

A lad in his teens, in the dark days of the Civil War, remembers how the story of her noble unselfish labors in behalf of the sick and wounded soldiers in the hospitals came back to the little town, stirred then as never before or since, and how all the friends of her youth felt an honorable pride in the work she was doing.

A youth, passing his college days at Gettysburg and filling his soul with its inspiring associations, remembers how the incidents of the great battle stirred him, and how the story of the fortitude of the sufferers and the blessed ministrations of those who brought back to life and health filled him with sympathy and admiration.

The child, the lad, the youth little thought then that over thirty years would pass away, and that this good friend of to-day, whom he had scarcely seen for twenty years, should present to this society the flag which floated over "Round Top's" rugged and historic heights.

And as little did he think that he would be asked in the name of this society to accept the sacred gift and pledge it to preserve the banner as a precious inheritance for future generations.

And one of the strongest reasons that led to the acceptance of this appointment by our President was that he might tell you, my friend, in the presence of your friends of later years, how the people of our quiet little town and beautiful valley appreciated and rejoiced in the work you were doing at that time, and how glad they were over all the promotions and enlarging opportunities of service that came to you.

And, so I say, our President touched a chord of reminiscence he never dreamed of touching when he asked me to respond to your interesting and suggestive words.

To my mind, there is a special fitness in placing this flag, endeared by those sacred associations, in the custody of our Historical Society.

For our flag stands for the very things the Society embodies and strives to perpetuate.

The flag stands for disinterested and wholly unselfish service. Never does a man more fully give himself without hope of return in personal profit than when he sets out to defend this symbol of "peace and order and beauty; of life and of law."

If the flag means anything to us, it means that we are willing to sacrifice time, strength, money and life even, for the ideas and the institutions it represents.

This is what the flag meant to the vast majority of the men who sprang to its defence thirty years ago.

This is what it meant to a man I have in mind now.

He was an elder in a church which I formerly served.

In the army, he was a Lieutenant in the Signal Corps.

At the battle of Fredericksburg he was stationed with his superior officer in the belfry of the Baptist Church in the heart of the town, and in the very centre of the storm of bullets that fell like hail on the roof below him and on the tower itself.

His inferior superior officer broke under the strain and fell flat on the floor and lay there all day, never daring to peep over the parapet.

But my friend stood in his place all through that day of horror and calamity, and waved his flag to the headquarters on the other side of the river, giving the needed signals.

And when the day was over and he made out his report, he had the magnanimity to sign the name of the coward who had lain at his feet all day and so save him from the disgrace he so richly merited.

It was the man's love for the flag, his devotion to the cause it represented, that begot his unselfish and heroic deed.

But the Historical Society is akin to the flag in this: it embodies in its membership the same unselfish spirit.

No personal gain comes to any one of us from those labors of ours.

Not one of us is the richer in money or influence or social prestige because of our work on these lines.

Even the information we seek, we seek not wholly for

ourselves but also for the sake of those who shall come after us.

We labor for the children and the children's children of this community, that they may read the story of a nation's rise and struggle and sacrifice, and prize the more this noble inheritance.

The flag also stands for the supremacy over all outward possessions, of ideas and truths, of noble sentiments and enriching aspirations and heroic moods and purposes.

Thirty-five years ago men poured out their wealth like water in defence of the flag of our country.

And they did this not because of the value of the bunting, nor because of the great wealth of the North that it represented.

They did it because they felt the flag stood for placing the "inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" within the reach of every human being in the land.

The flag stood for the embodiment in fact of the great truths of the Declaration of Independence.

Our Historical Society stands for the supremacy of ideas over all national possessions.

Our County Medical Society honored itself in honoring one of our late members the other evening.

They expressed our spirit as well as their own. We were all with them in the noble recognition of the worth of Dr. Hiram Corson.

But they honored Dr. Corson not because of his wealth, nor of his political influence, nor his high honors before men.

They honored him because he strove always to serve humanity regardless of all opposition and of all distinctions of "race, color, previous condition of servitude," or of sex.

They honored him because he was the *man* that he was.

And we honor Dr. Corson because thus he embodied so fully the spirit of our Society, of which he was one of the founders.

He and we all believe that men do not care to know that General Washington was one of the richest men in the land in his day.

He and we all hold that we should use our energy and strength and time to perpetuate the historic deeds done by the great leader in this vicinity, and which made him in every deed "First in War, First in Peace, and First in the hearts of his Countrymen."

Let the flag then be committed to the Historical Society.

The flag stimulates and inspires the deeds of patriotic service which the Society gathers up and strives to hand down to future generations.

The flag stirs our love, our homage, our loyalty.

And the Society translates these feelings into the historic page which shall give to those who shall come after us the names and deeds of the heroes who made us a nation, and gave us the institutions that have made us great.

Flag and Society: They are united to-day by the grace of this donor.

Let no word nor act of any man separate them while time shall last.

*This all in sweet enchantment sung,
They tell us of the days more bright,
Of silver lakes and mountain shade,
Of tropic growths of wondrous height,
And wealth of bloom that charms the sight,
With field and wood all fragrant made.*

*It may be so—and yet we find,
As round the world in thought we roam,
That countless thousands of our kind
Seem to the things thus lauded blind—
Since home for all true hearts is home.*

*Joined for our special searching here,
Our partial thoughts intently cling,
Within our County's narrow sphere,
More truly with each passing year,
To every dear and homelike thing.*

*Its place of beauty all admire,
Beside the bordering city's gate,
Scenes here attract that well inspire
To words that rise from poet's life,
In this, our fair old Keystone State.*

We love its fields and woods and streams,
Its farms and homes and comforts round,
Its beauties love more fair than dreams—
All that there is, and all that seems—
Within its wealth of blessings found.

MONTGOMERY COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA.

As down unto the present shown,
From coming of our fathers here,
Whose hands have made this County grace,
So full of beauty and of cheer.

BY REV. MATTHIAS SHEELEIGH, D. D.

They print it round us everywhere,
They tell us with a glowing tongue,
Of older lands, than ours more fair,
With bluer sky and balmier air:
This all in sweet enchantment sung.

They tell us of the days more bright,
Of silver lakes 'mid mountain shade,
Of tropic growths of wondrous height,
And wealth of bloom that charms the sight,
With field and wood all fragrant made.

It may be so—and yet we find,
As round the world in thought we roam,
That countless thousands of our kind
Seem to the things thus lauded blind—
Since home for all true hearts is home.

Joined for our special searching here,
Our partial thoughts intently cling,
Within our County's narrow sphere,
More truly with each passing year,
To every dear and homelike thing.

Its place of beauty all admire,
Anear the bordering city's gate:
Scenes here attract that well inspire
To words that rise from poet's fire,
In this, our fair old Keystone State.

MONTGOMERY COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA.

By REV. MATTHEW SHREVE, D. D.

They point it round us everywhere,
They tell us with a glowing tongue,
Of other lands than ours more fair,
With bluer sky and balmy air;
This all in sweet enchantment sang.

They tell us of the days more bright,
Of silver lakes and mountain shade,
Of tropic groves of wondrous height,
And walls of bloom that charm the night,
With field and wood all fragrant made.

It may be so—and yet we find,
As round the world in thought we roam,
That countless thousands of our kind
Seem to the things thus hushed blind—
Since home for all true hearts is home.

Joined for our special searching here,
Our partial thoughts intensely cling,
Within our County's narrow sphere,
More truly with each passing year,
To every dear and homelike thing.

Its place of beauty all admit,
Aeolus the bounding city's gate;
Scenes here attract that well inspire
To words that rise from poet's fire,
In this our fair old Keystone State.

We love its fields and woods and streams,
 Its farms and homes and comforts round,
 Its beauties love, more fair than dreams—
 All that there is, and all that seems—
 Within its wealth of blessings found.

We love its history to trace,
 As down unto the present shown,
 From coming of each sturdy race,
 Whose hands brought seeds of strength and grace,
 So fully o'er this region sown.

The marks by fathers left, we scan,
 On early wooded vale and hill,
 Where they their new-world homes began,
 And proved their better traits of man—
 Traits lived in children's children still.

For them 'twas sad, to us 'tis dear—
 That hosts in brave self-exile came,
 Seeking 'midst wilds unmeasured here,
 To set God's altars far from fear
 Of persecution's blade and flame.

Those early wand'ers hither led
 By hand of Providence all-wise,
 Had not the whys and wherefores read,
 Knew little where their feet must tread,
 Or where must rest their weary eyes.

Theirs was a mission true and high,
 To serve as bravest pioneers,
 To cleave the forests to the sky,
 Lay home and state foundations by
 The widening stream of passing years.

From day when fathers wrought their part,
 To this, our own high-favored time,
 We gather with glad hand and heart,
 Their deeds in church and field and mart,
 To run in prose or weave in rhyme.

Brave people here have lived and died,
Scholars have written, bards have sung,
Art's children here their genius plied,
And men of science far and wide
Expounded with commanding tongue.

Here, by the stream and on the height,
The soldier's camp and grave were made,
When right was battling hard with might,
When round our freedom hung the night
That on the hearts of patriots weighed.

Then be it ours to learn and tell
Of treasures wise and valued round,
Of men and virtues that excel,
Of aught the good have cherished well,
Upon this County's olden ground.

[Read before the Society by the Secretary, Mrs. A. Conrad Jones, in the
Court House, at Norristown, May 30, 1893.]

'Tis a song of life grown speechless
Of a warring, savage race,
Whose watchfire's gleam, near its slant stream
Of shimmered upon its face.

Like dreams, well-nigh forgotten,
Those shadows come and go
From out the gloom of Time's dark womb,
Like spectral shapes of snow.

'Tis a song of limpid waters
More bright than Tiber's stream—
A song of spray—a silvery lay—
That came from blader gleam.

O bright, pure stream, still flowing,
We bless thy waters fair,
As warriors bold, in times grown old,
Attuned their voice in prayer.
'Tis a song of purifying waters,
Whose wavelets bless the shore,
Where meet our sons and daughters
As once those old of yore.

[Read before the Historical Society, at Schuylkill, September 10, 1894.]

A SONG OF THE PERKIOMEN.

BY COL. THOMAS C. ZIMMERMAN.

I sing of th' Perkiomen,
Its sky-reflected hue,
Its wooded banks, its tranquil flow,
Its stone-fringed shallows, too.
'Tis a song of pleasant waters
In the days of long ago,
When dusky sons and daughters
Its banks roamed to and fro.

I love its lisping music,
Its liquid lullaby:
A soothing song that lolls along
Like lovers' peaceful sigh.
'Tis a song of lips grown speechless,
Of a warring, savage race,
Whose watchfire's gleam, near th' classic stream
Oft shimmered upon its face.

Like dreams, well-nigh forgotten,
These shadows come and go
From out the gloom of Time's dark womb,
Like spectral shapes of snow.
'Tis a song of limpid waters
More bright than Tiber's stream—
A song of spray—a silv'ry lay—
That came from blades agleam.

O bright, pure stream, still flowing,
We bless thy waters fair,
As warriors bold, in times grown old,
Attuned their voice in prayer.
'Tis a song of purling waters,
Whose wavelets kiss the shore,
Where meet *our* sons and daughters
As once those did of yore.

[Read before the Historical Society, at Schwenksville, September 16, 1896.]

A SONG OF THE PERKIMEN.

By COL. THOMAS C. ZIMMERMAN.

I sing of the Perkimen,
His sky-reflected bow,
His wooded banks, his tranquil flow,
His stone-floored shallows, too.
'Tis a song of pleasant waters
In the days of long ago,
When dusky sons and daughters
His banks roamed to and fro.

I love its hissing murmur,
Its liquid melody;
A soothing note that tells alone
Like lovers' secret sighs.
'Tis a song of life grown speechless,
Of a warlike, savage race,
Whose watchfire's gleam, near its classic stream,
Oft shimmered upon its face.

Like dreams, well-nigh forgotten,
These shadows come and go,
From out the room of Time's dark womb.
Like spectral shapes of snow,
'Tis a song of limpid waters
More bright than Tibet's stream—
A song of spray—a silvery lay—
That came from blades agleam.

O bright, pure stream, still flowing,
We bless thy waters late,
As warriors bold, in times grown old,
Attuned their voice in prayer.
'Tis a song of purring waters,
Whose wavelets kiss the shore,
Where meet our sons and daughters
As once those hid of yore.

[Read before the Historical Society, at Schencksville, September 10, 1896.]

THE MONUMENTS.

The Montgomery County Historical Society has erected two memorials of Revolutionary events, one at Barren Hill to commemorate Lafayette's successful withdrawal from his camp when menaced by a largely superior force of British troops, described elsewhere in this volume in the papers of Levi Streeper and Irvin C. Williams.

The Barren Hill monument, as well as that at Pennypacker's Mills, was erected under the supervision of a memorial committee of the Society, consisting of George W. Bartholomew, William W. Potts, Mrs. A. Conrad Jones, Hon. S. W. Pennypacker, Dr. W. H. Reed and Ellwood Roberts.

The committee divided, the first three attending to the Barren Hill Memorial, the others to that at Pennypacker's Mills.

The Barren Hill stone is of white marble in the form of an A tent. It stands on a substantial foundation, and is handsomely lettered.

The following are the inscriptions on the stone:

On the grounds in the rear of
this stone the American troops under
Lafayette were encamped from the
18th to the 20th of May, 1778.

About three hundred yards
southwest of this place were encamp-
ed the Indians who were a part
of Lafayette's command.

Erected by the Historical Society of Mont-
gomery County, Pa., 1897.

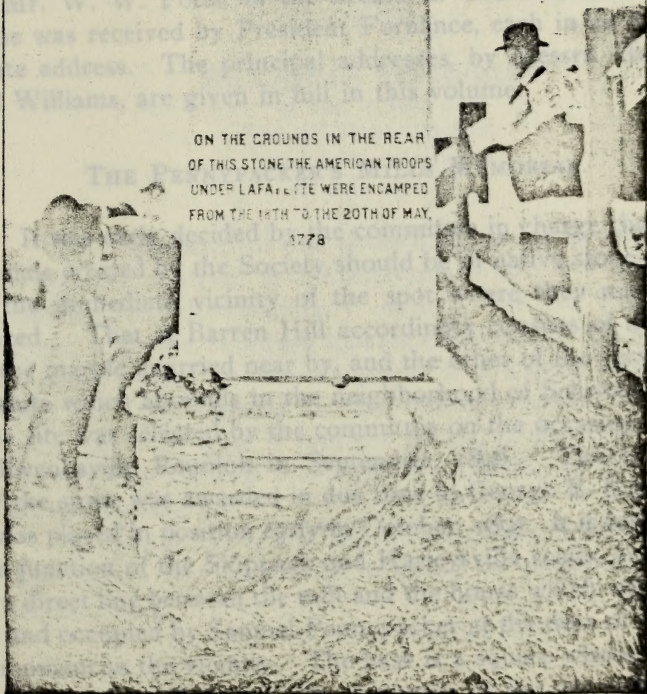
It was dedicated Saturday, May 21, 1898, with appropriate ceremonies. Those present included members of the Society,

residents of the vicinity, and pupils of the Lafayette Hill school, with their teachers, Miss Sybilla Staley (since deceased), and Miss Lottie Kerper. The children rendered several patriotic selections. A portion of the exercises took place at the monument, which was unveiled by Misses Lillian Kerper and Carrie Baale, pupils of the school, each about twelve years of age. The addresses, music and other exercises were given at the pavilion adjoining the house.

The investing was called to order by Mr. Farnance in an appropriate address. The presentation to the Society was by Mr. W. W. Potter of the Memorial Committee and the stone was received by President Farnance, who gave an appropriate address. The principal addresses by Mr. Farnance and Williams, are given in full in this volume.

ON THE GROUNDS IN THE REAR
OF THIS STONE THE AMERICAN TROOPS
UNDER LAFAYETTE WERE ENCAMPED
FROM THE 18TH TO THE 20TH OF MAY.

1778



MONUMENT AT BARREN HILL.

From a Photograph by Edwin S. Nyce.

MONUMENT AT BARREN HILL.
From a Photograph by Edwin S. Nyce.

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The meeting was called to order by Mr. Fornance in an appropriate address. The presentation to the Society was by Mr. W. W. Potts, of the Memorial Committee, and the stone was received by President Fornance, each in an appropriate address. The principal addresses, by Messrs. Hobson and Williams, are given in full in this volume.

THE PENNYPACKER'S MILLS MEMORIAL.

It was early decided by the committee in charge that memorials erected by the Society should be of native stone found in the immediate vicinity of the spot where they might be placed. That at Barren Hill accordingly consists of a block of the marble quarried near by, and the other of the very hard granite which abounds in the neighborhood of Schwenksville. The site was selected by the committee on the occasion of the Schwenksville Reunion in September, 1896. The contract for the stone was awarded in due time to George E. Bear, and it was placed in position early in October, 1897. It is located at the junction of the Skippack and Harleysville roads, nearly in at a direct line between the mill and the house which was owned and occupied by Samuel Pennypacker at the time of the encampment in the vicinity. The base is a square whose side is 3 feet 6 inches in length, the thickness of the stone being 2 feet 6 inches. It weighs nearly four tons. The dimensions of the stone which rests upon the base are 2 feet 6 inches by 2 feet 6 inches, and 4 feet 10 inches in height. Its weight is over four tons. The inscriptions are cut in sunken polished panels, two

feet square. The impression conveyed by the monument is that of solidity and permanence. The inscriptions follow :

This stone marks the
camp of Washington's
Army, Pennypacker's
Mills, Sept. 26-29 and
Oct. 5-8, 1777.

Historical Society
of
Montgomery Co., Pa.,
Oct. 8, 1897.

Washington's Headquarters
at the house of
Samuel Pennypacker,
377 yards northeast
of this stone.

This monument is one of the handsomest as well as most substantial of those in Pennsylvania which are intended to commemorate Revolutionary events. The old Pennypacker house, a picture of which appears elsewhere in this volume in connection with Mr. Kratz's article, is in a good state of preservation. On entering it, the visitor perceives at once its great age. In what is now the parlor, at the west corner of the building, General Washington, according to tradition, had his headquarters.

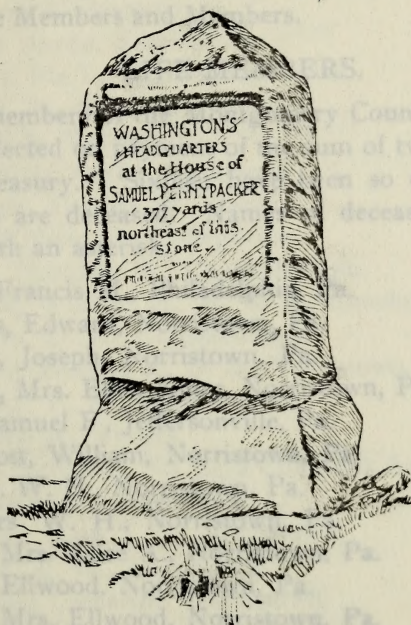
In thus marking the sites of important historical events, the Society has done what it could to perpetuate patriotic recollections.

MONUMENT AT PENNYPACKER'S MILL.

By courtesy of Slinger & Hildegarde, Pennsylvania.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

There has been a large increase in the membership of the Society since the publication of its previous volume. It consists of Life Members and Members.



MONUMENT AT PENNYPACKER'S MILL.

By courtesy of Singer & Hillegass, Pennsburg.

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LIFE MEMBERS.

Life members of the Montgomery County Historical Society are elected on payment of the sum of twenty-five dollars into its treasury. Sixteen have been so elected in all, of whom two are deceased. Names of deceased members are marked with an asterisk:

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- Elsenhans, Edward, Norristown, Pa.
- Fornance, Joseph, Norristown, Pa.
- Fornance, Mrs. Ellen Knox, Norristown, Pa.
- Jarrett, Samuel F., Jeffersonville, Pa.
- * McDermott, William, Norristown, Pa.
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- Roberts, Ellwood, Norristown, Pa.
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- Roberts, Howard C., Norristown, Pa.
- Shannon, George, Norristown, Pa.
- Shaw, Charles H., Jeffersonville, Pa.
- Summers, William, Norristown, Pa.
- Wills, Morgan R., Norristown, Pa.

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- Eisenhart, Edward, Norristown, Pa.
- Formance, Joseph, Norristown, Pa.
- Formance, Mrs. Ellen Knox, Norristown, Pa.
- Jarrett, Samuel F., Jeffersonville, Pa.
- * McDermott, William, Norristown, Pa.
- Reed, Dr. W. H., Norristown, Pa.
- Reed, Mrs. W. H., Norristown, Pa.
- Roberts, Mrs. Alice A., Norristown, Pa.
- Roberts, Ellwood, Norristown, Pa.
- Roberts, Mrs. Ellwood, Norristown, Pa.
- Roberts, Howard C., Norristown, Pa.
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- Shaw, Charles H., Jeffersonville, Pa.
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- Wills, Morgan R., Norristown, Pa.

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Yerkes, John W., 2348 Jefferson St., Philadelphia.
Yerkes, Miss Martha, Norristown.

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